

The American Neptune

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THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF MARITIME HISTORY



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SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS

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THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE

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of Maritime History

VOLUME XI

JANUARY 1951

NUMBER 1

AT the annual meeting on 13 December 1950 of *The American Neptune, Incorporated*, the small and impecunious Massachusetts corporation that publishes this journal, Mr. Ernest S. Dodge, Director of the Peabody Museum of Salem, was appointed to the new post of Managing Editor.

Even in a venture like the NEPTUNE, where many hands determine the character and interests of the journal, it is necessary for some single person to assume the responsibility over a reasonably long period for the editorial mechanics. Having seen forty issues through the press and wrestled with ten indexes I am grateful to Mr. Dodge for his willingness to relieve me of this duty, for which he is admirably qualified.

It is appropriate that the NEPTUNE's close relation with the Peabody Museum of Salem should be further cemented by this appointment. The idea of the journal originated in the Peabody Museum Marine Associates; the trustees of the Museum have provided a headquarters and considerable clerical assistance; successive Directors of the Museum—first Mr. Lawrence W. Jenkins and later Mr. Dodge—have served as Treasurers of *The American Neptune, Incorporated*, assuming the tedious task of dealing with subscriptions and endeavoring to make ends meet.

While the Editors and the members of the Advisory Board will continue to play their accustomed rôles, it should prove advantageous to

have both the editorial and business management of the journal reunited under a single roof. Consequently, manuscripts submitted for publication, books for review, and all correspondence, whether dealing with editorial or business matters, should be addressed to Mr. Dodge at East India Marine Hall, Salem, Massachusetts.

At the beginning of this eleventh volume I cannot refrain from expressing my personal gratitude to Commodore Dudley W. Knox, the senior historian of the United States Navy, for his assistance to THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE during the war years. Of the members of the board who were in naval uniform between 1942 and 1945 M. V. Brewington, J. H. Kemble, J. W. McElroy, C. G. Summersell and I served under Commodore Knox in the Office of Naval Records and Library, Navy Department, while S. E. Morison and A. C. Brown were nearby in the Office of Naval History of which the Commodore was Deputy Director. Without his sympathetic interest it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to continue the editorial activities of the journal through World War II.

Similarly I must record my gratitude to our printers for the part that they have played during the past ten years. The handsome format of the NEPTUNE, which has proved its adaptability to the publication of varied material, is due to Mr. Fred Anthoensen, whose staff at The Anthoensen Press in Portland, Maine, have, by accurate composition, searching and perspicacious proofreading, and fine presswork, helped to maintain the standards of the journal and greatly lightened the work of the Editors in countless ways.

The response to the appeal for new subscribers has been gratifying, but more are still needed. While three cents no longer buys a newspaper, and nickels are rapidly becoming as useless as pennies, five dollars a year still brings four issues of this journal, as it did in 1941. If that price is to be maintained, the number of five dollar checks must increase.

WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

Boston Athenæum

The History of Harwich Lights and Their Owners

BY W. R. CHAPLIN

A FEATURE of the maritime history of the seventeenth century was the commencement of the lighthouse system in England. This was largely undertaken by private persons, by means of patents obtained from the Crown, and regarded more as a rich source of revenue for the adventurers than as a real aid to the mariner. Although the erection of seamarks, which included lighthouses, had been vested in the Trinity House in the eighth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth (1566), in 1617, in the time of James I, the Attorney-General gave his opinion that although the Trinity House had authority to erect seamarks, it did not preclude the King from doing so on his own account. This at once opened the way for selling or granting patents (as was intended), and thereafter most of the lights established during that century were by private individuals; two centuries later it was to cost the State a million sterling to buy out the vested interests of the private owners.

During the years of the Civil War, and later of the Commonwealth, no new grants were made, but after the Restoration (1660) there was at once a renewal of applications and it became almost a profession in certain families¹ to use what influence they possessed to get a license to erect a lighthouse somewhere. These applications were invariably opposed by the Trinity House ostensibly because the dues would be a burden on shipping, although the real objection was the infringement on their own rights. However, by an odd chance, one of the earliest grants was made to the then Master of the Trinity House, who, having regard to his position, was able to obtain the support of the Corporation to a proposal it would have hesitated to endorse for another.

Admiral Sir William Batten, a brief account of whose career is given in the *Dictionary of National Biography* but of whom some mention is necessary here, was the son of Andrew Batten, of Co. Somerset, for many years

¹ Pepys refers to the applications for lighthouse patents made by Sir John Clayton, to whom no less than five were granted in 1677, some of which, however, were allowed to lapse.

a Master in the Royal Navy. In 1632 he was Master and part owner of the merchant ship *Salutation*, of Yarmouth, engaged in the Mediterranean trade, evidently the vessel of that name granted letters of marque when commanded later by William Batten.

The next mention of William Batten is in 1638 when he was appointed Surveyor of the Navy. It does not appear whether he had held any naval command before his appointment as Surveyor, but it seems probable since in March 1642 he was appointed second in command of the fleet under the Earl of Warwick, and served at sea during the turbulent years which ended with the establishment of the Commonwealth Parliament. In 1648 when a portion of the fleet revolted, he carried *Constant Warwick*, one of the best ships then in the service of the Parliamentary Navy, over to Holland, where the Prince of Wales (afterwards Charles II) was then in exile.

For this he was knighted by Prince Charles, and made a Rear-Admiral. The Prince wished him to continue in command of the fleet in his service. With the prospect of war Batten seems to have been shocked at the idea of fighting against his old Admiral, the Earl of Warwick, and against his own countrymen, and he obtained permission to return to England where he made his peace with the Parliament and went into retirement. During the next twelve years he took no service under the Parliament or Cromwell, and seems to have been left undisturbed by them.

On the Restoration (June 1660) Batten's past services were remembered and he was at once reappointed to his former office of Surveyor of the Navy in which his remaining years were passed. At the same time he was elected to Trinity House; he had probably been a member prior to the suspension of the Corporation in 1649, at the end of the Civil War, because his name appeared high on the seniority list, and he was soon to attain to higher office.

On his appointment as Surveyor of the Navy he went to live in one of the residences attached to the Navy Office in Seething Lane and became a neighbor of Samuel Pepys. Through the pleasant pages of Pepys's *Diary*, where he occupies almost as large a space as his colleague, Admiral Sir William Penn, we seem to become personally acquainted with Batten. Pepys was jealous of him and seldom says much in his favor, but nevertheless they were generally on good terms, borrowed money from each other, and had some jovial times together. The ill-feeling that evidently did exist seems to have been caused by the jealousy between Mrs. Pepys and Lady Batten, so much of which is mentioned in the *Diary*. In an age of almost universal corruption it is unnecessary to say that Batten's official

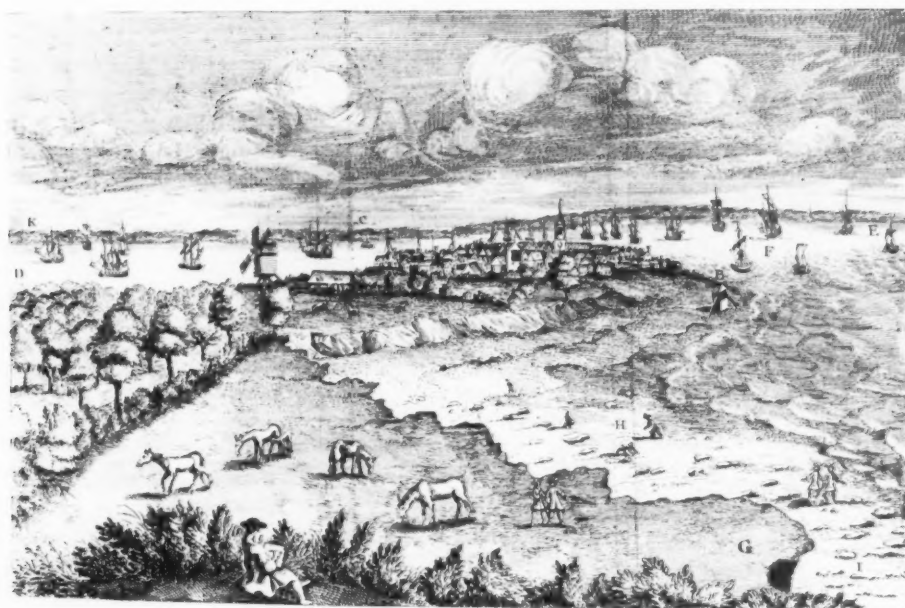


Admiral Sir William Batten

Reproduced by courtesy of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich



The High Light [A] and Town Gate, Harwich
 Reproduced from Dale's History of Harwich



The High [A] and Low [B] Lights, Harwich
 Reproduced from Dale's History of Harwich

hands were not quite clean, but there is no reason to suppose that he exceeded the bounds of what was then considered fair and reasonable, and the 'knavery' of which Pepys accuses him may have largely shown itself in restraining the greed of the Clerk of the Acts.

In 1661 the Earl of Sandwich (Pepys's patron) succeeded the Duke of Albemarle as Master of the Trinity House and Sir William Batten was chosen as Deputy Master. In the following year Admiral Sir John Mennes was elected Master for the ensuing year, although according to Pepys 'Sir William Batten did contend highly for it.' Batten, however, was elected in 1663, and instead of appointing a Deputy, took the chair at every meeting during his year of office. There may have been personal reasons for this, as he seems to have determined to use the influence attaching to his office to the best advantage whilst he held it. In the following year he was Deputy Master to old Sir George Carteret who had succeeded him as Master, and was still pursuing and completing his schemes. One of his ambitions was to obtain the grant of a patent for a lighthouse, although this was contrary to the policy of the House of which he was then at the head. Harwich, a port with which he was well acquainted, seemed to him a suitable place for building a lighthouse.

At this time the Trinity House was not in very high favor at Court. A number of the members elected at the Restoration had served under the Commonwealth, some with distinction, and now were not ardent supporters of the new régime. Some two years earlier one Captain Lawrence Moyer, one of the old Puritans of Cromwell's time, had been arrested for alleged seditious remarks and being concerned in a plot to overthrow the monarchy. King Charles had ordered that he be expelled from membership of the House, but this order the Corporation had ignored. This state of affairs did not help Batten's plans, and when the subject of Moyer was again discussed he obtained the Corporation's agreement to his removal, as he had been in the Tower of London for two years without trial and without any prospect of release. They seem to have agreed with some reluctance, and only on condition that 'His Majesty be rightly informed of Moyer's true character.' Moyer was one of a family long associated with the Trinity House and still had some relatives amongst the membership, where he was held in high esteem.

The Moyer difficulty having been satisfactorily settled helped to smooth the way for Batten's petition to the King. Although out of office as Master of the Trinity House before it was granted, no doubt the necessary preliminaries had already been made. As his petition would in the normal course be referred to the Trinity House for their observations, he

had early assured himself of its support by having first obtained petitions from owners and masters of ships that they desired the lights and were willing to pay the dues.

One of the petitions extracted into the Trinity House records is as follows:

Whereas wee the Owners of Shippes Masters and Seamen trading to Newcastle and Sunderland and further Northward have upon the prosecution of our sayde voyages found the want of lighthouses at Harwich in the county of Essex; experience teaching how usefull they would be to the Navigation using the sayde trade: some shippes in probabilitie having been lost for want of lighthouses in the mouth of the sayde harbour for their direction into the same for sheltere from the dangere they are lyable to; by rideing without: Wee therefore the Owners of Shippes Masters and Seamen doe hereby certify and declare, that being sensible of the want thereof, and the only promoters of that worke; necessity pressing us thereunto: and the persons that shall receive great benefitt thereby (if erected) and therefore willing to contribute to the constant maintenance thereof by allowing such a small proportion out of every Voyage, As to the Kings Majestie and Councill shall be thought meet and convenient, dated 17 day of September 1664.

This bears the signatures of sixty petitioners, another in exactly the same wording follows with some twenty or thirty names but with a different date, and another in similar terms is signed by the Mariners of Harwich; it is reasonable to suppose that there were others which have not survived. They bear the imprint of having been prepared by the promoter, or more likely by his agent, and we may suppose that little care was taken as to whether the subscribers were interested parties, so long as they signed their names.

Pepys (*Diary* 4 November 1664), when gossiping with Sir William Coventry, Secretary to the Duke of York, relates that the latter recalled that Sir William Batten had formerly opposed the erection of lighthouses and advised the Duke of York that the dues would only be a burden on shipping, but after a visit to Harwich had seen the opportunity and applied to have a patent, and got the Trinity House to certify to its usefulness, and between them they roundly condemn him.

Batten obtained his patent, dated 24 December 1664, for 61 years, to erect two lighthouses on a piece of ground given him by the town of Harwich, and to receive for their maintenance 12*d.* on every 20 chaldrons² of Newcastle coal, a halfpenny per ton on English, and a penny per ton on foreign shipping, paying an annual rental to the King of £5. Considering the volume of shipping, particularly colliers and coasters, which

² Chaldron: an old coal measure of 36 bushels equalling 25½ hundredweight, although a Newcastle chaldron is said to have been 53 hundredweight.

would become liable to the dues it was, as Pepys observes, equal to the gift of a fortune. Elsewhere the diarist records his views on the principle of privately owned lighthouses:³ 'Observe the evil of having lights raised by and for the profit of private men, and not for the good of the public or the relief of poor seamen . . . as also how easily obtained and by what arts gained,' and mentions those belonging to Batten and others.

As the dues would not become payable until the lights were operating, Batten lost no time in getting them erected. Pepys said on 3 January 1665: ' . . . and then to Sir William Batten's who is going out of towne to Harwich tomorrow to set up a lighthouse there, which he hath lately got a patent from the King to set up, that will turne much to his profit.' Batten was combining his own interests with those of his public office as Surveyor to the Navy, as he wrote from Harwich on the seventh to Sir William Coventry a long report on the condition of the ships there and requested a supply of various stores for the naval yard there.

The lighthouses erected were very crude, although comparable no doubt to those of the period at other places on our coasts. They consisted of two separate lights which, when in line, led ships clear of the shoals and into the harbor entrance. It is unlikely that any special survey was made in order to exactly so fix the positions of the lights as to ensure that they would lead ships into the best water. Batten may well have had the assistance of local mariners who, from want of charts, depended upon their local knowledge acquired by long experience in navigating the harbor approaches; but however roughly sited they seem to have answered their purpose for the next two hundred years.

The lights consisted of a coal fire in a room having an open front, over the town gate, which was the high or principal light. The low and lesser light was a small structure on the shore of the harbor carrying a lantern lighted by candles (more particularly described hereafter), and no material change or improvement in the lights was made during the next hundred and fifty years.

Their construction did not take very long; possibly some preliminary work had already been done, as Batten was soon afterwards back in London. On 13 January Pepys went to his (Batten's) house 'he being looked for tonight, but is not yet come from Harwich.' Soon after his return to London Batten was taken ill, and on 6 February Pepys visited him 'who is sick again, worse than he was, and I am apt to think very ill,' and for four or five days lay at the point of death. 'I am at a loss' wrote Pepys on

³ *Samuel Pepys's Naval Minutes*, Navy Record Society, LX (1925).

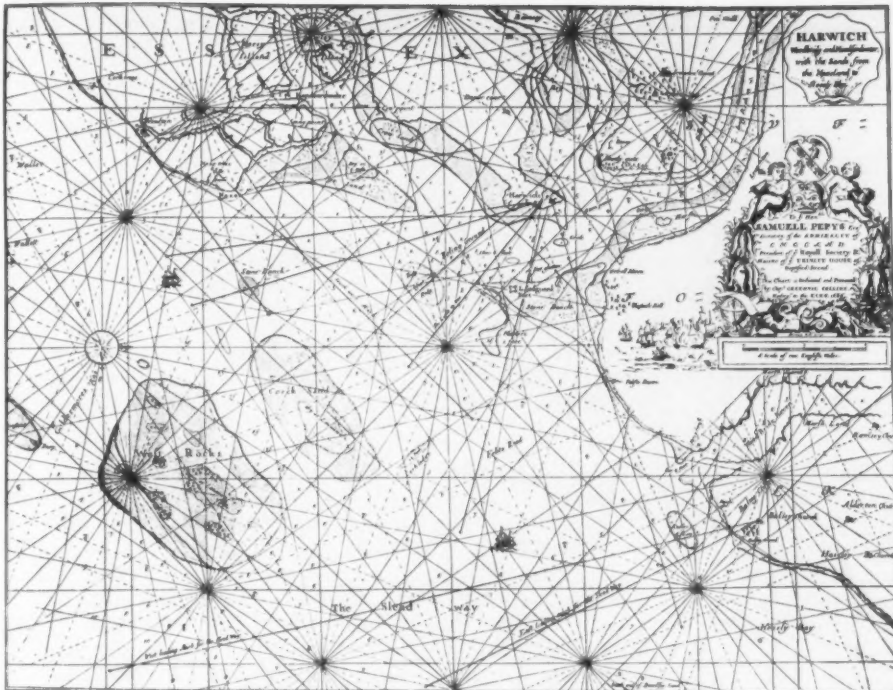
the seventh 'whether it will be better for me to have him die, because he is a bad man, or live, for fear a worse should come.' He revived, however, and lived for another two and a half years.

By April he was back at Harwich, and thereafter his letters (preserved amongst the State Papers P.R.O.) from there to the other Commissioners of the Navy concerning the condition of the ships in the port and their requirements are continuous for the next few months. The Second Dutch War had broken out, Harwich Naval Yard again became of considerable importance, and Batten, like Bourne in the First Dutch War, became not only the driving force in refitting the disabled ships, but a link between the fleet in the North Sea and the Admiralty and Navy Commissioners in London.

Batten would most certainly have given some attention to his light-houses there, concerning which there was some further correspondence, no longer preserved. Sir William Coventry, writing to the other Commissioners of the Navy, said that Sir William Batten's 'agreement with the town of Harwich for some ground being made by one of themselves (presumably the Mayor or Bailiff) should be confirmed.' This seems to have been followed up and required, as the lease for the land is dated 16 July 1666, for 99 years, but it is not indicated whether it was for the site of the high or low light, or both.

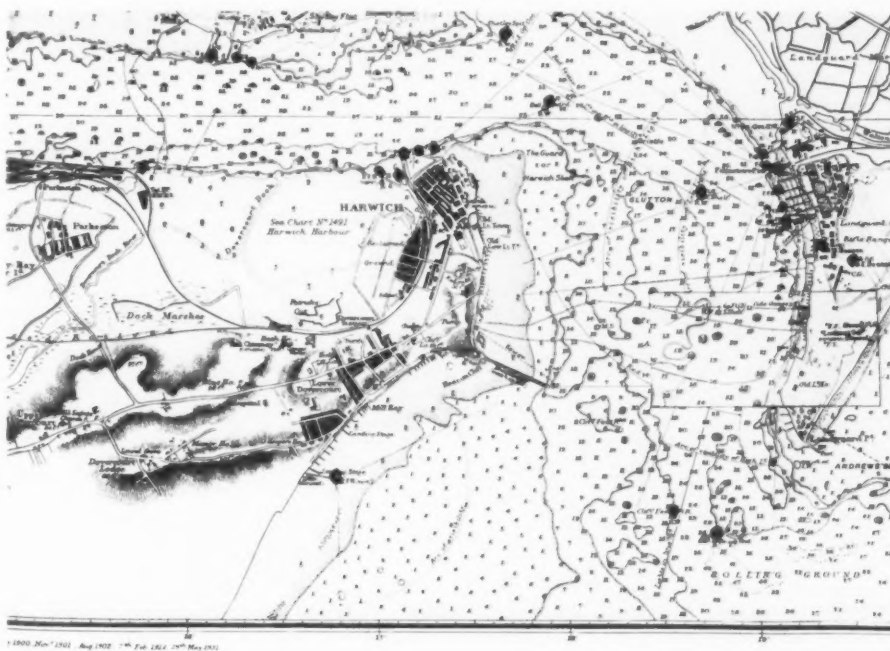
During his stay at Harwich Batten was not so preoccupied by the affairs of the dockyard that he was unable to give some attention to more private ones. In May he wrote to Pepys expressing his anxiety concerning the safety of his hogshead of wine lately arrived in London and soliciting his interest in having it securely laid in his cellar. On the twenty-second of May he was directed to remain at Harwich until the fleet sailed from there, and replied with an urgent demand for stores, and particularly for masts, spars, and cordage. Ten days later he wrote to the King informing him that the fleet was off Sole Bay and the enemy in sight, and on the following day to Pepys that the thunder of the guns still continues, and again urges the despatch of stores. The need of stores was repeated in a further letter to the Commissioners of the Navy and that 'great masts were demanded with all possible speed.' In the meantime the Battle of Sole Bay had been fought, and on 6 June he wrote to them that he had a report that thirty Dutch ships had been destroyed.

On 14 June he was again ordered to remain at Harwich, this time until the fleet had been refitted, but in July left there for the last time and went to Chatham, and from thence returned to London on the twenty-fifth. He now thought the time was opportune for his services to be further reward-



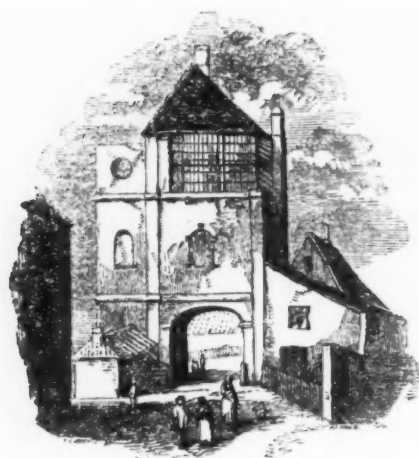
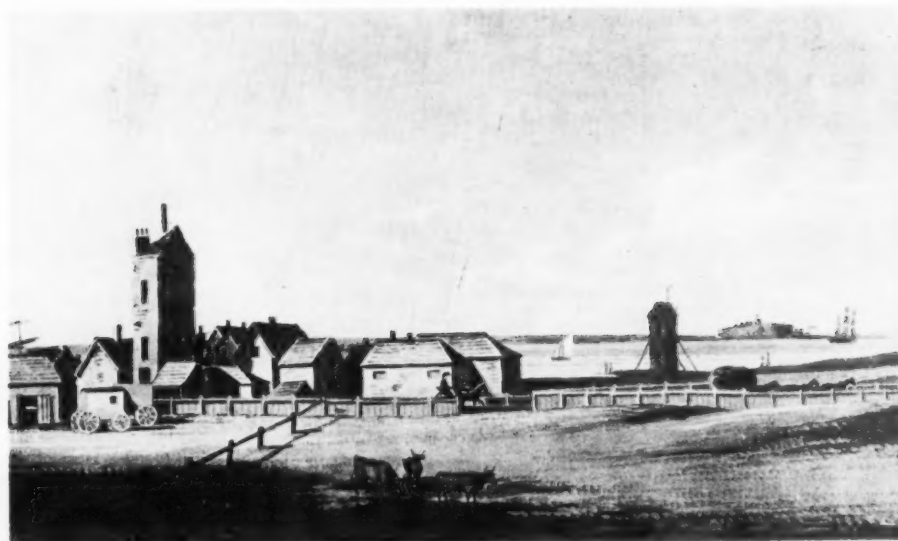
Greenville Collins' Survey of the Approaches to Harwich Harbor, 1686, dedicated to Samuel Pepys, Esq., Secretary of the Admiralty and Master of Trinity House

The bearing of the lights is shown, leading between the Ridge and Andrew Shoals



Harwich Harbor

Reproduced from British Admiralty Chart 2693 by permission of the Hydrographer of the Navy



The Old Lighthouses, Harwich, just before their demolition in 1817

ed and wrote to Williamson,⁴ Secretary of State, asking for his assistance in his petition to the King, and sends him a present of a sturgeon. His petition was for the grant of a prize, *Orion*, taken off the coast of Guinea, in compensation for the loss of his sixteenth share in the ship *Constant Warwick* in 1648, of which he was deprived for remaining with His Majesty in Holland. Thereafter, he went to Portsmouth, and towards the end of the year returned to London where he seems to have remained until his death.

Sir William Batten did not live long to enjoy the profits of his lighthouses. On 4 October 1667 Pepys notes: 'Sir W. Batten is so ill that it is believed he cannot live until tomorrow, which troubles me and my wife mightily, partly out of kindness, he being a good neighbour, and partly because of the money he owes me.' He died on the morning of the fifth and on the twelfth was buried, as he desired, in the grave of his first wife in the parish church at Walthamstow, Co. Essex, more than a hundred coaches attending his funeral.

Batten, who was probably a little more than sixty-five years of age at the time of his death, was twice married. His second wife, whom he married about 1659, was a sister of the wife of James Askew, Secretary of the Trinity House after the Restoration, to which office he was appointed during an illness of his predecessor, who, on his return, found himself ousted from office, obviously to make room for Batten's relative, but very gracefully accepted a subordinate position. By his first wife Batten had two sons, William and Benjamin, and two daughters, Mary Leming and Martha Castle; at the time of his death there were several grandchildren. By his second wife there were no children.

Batten had a comfortable estate, to quote Pepys, and after bequests and disposal of property of no interest here, he bequeathed to his wife the full benefit of the dues from his lighthouses at Harwich for a period of four years and thereafter to have one-half share. From the other half the sum of thirty pounds a year was to be paid to his niece, Jane Askew, daughter of the above-mentioned James Askew, for her life, and the remainder then to be divided equally between his sons, William and Benjamin, and daughters Mary Leming and Martha Castle. There was a further proviso that if his sons and daughters died with issue surviving, then the share belonging to such son or daughter was to be divided between his or her children. From this it will be seen that the ownership of the lights could be and was eventually shared by a number of people; how-

⁴ Sir Joseph Williamson (1633-1701), Clerk of the Council and afterwards Secretary of State.

ever, within two generations it had been acquired into a single ownership through the descendants of Mary Leming.

To his negro servant Mingo (or Minger) he left £10 'and I doe alsoe give unto the said Mingo the custody and keeping of my lighthouses at Harwich and the sum of £20 a year of lawful money of England during his natural life for his paines therein.' Mingo was thus provided for during his lifetime with a post he could never hitherto have contemplated. Pepys makes occasional mention of him. On 27 March 1661 he went to dinner at the Dolphin Inn in Tower Street with a merry party which included the two Admirals, Sir William Batten and Sir William Penn, 'and there being a set of fiddlers there they made Mingo and Jack (Sir William Penn's black servant) dance, which they did with a great deal of seeming skill.' After Batten's death nothing more is known of the faithful Mingo, or how long he survived the bleak and stormy North Sea winters in his new and strange office, nor can we know his reflections on the hand of fortune which had not only taken him far from his sunny Africa, but equally so from the comparative comfort of a house servant to his former master in Seething Lane. His only claim on posterity is that he may have been the first negro lighthouse keeper.

Lady Elizabeth Batten married again in 1671, by a coincidence just at the end of the four years during which she was to have the whole revenue from the lighthouse, to Sir James Barkman Leyenberg.⁵ She died in September 1681 and on the sixteenth of the month was buried at Walthamstow. Sir William Batten's son, William, died in 1672, and Benjamin in 1684, leaving their lighthouse shares to be further divided, but exactly how cannot now be traced. His daughter, Mary, married James Leming, merchant, of Colchester; they had one daughter, Mary. The only passing reference by Pepys to James Leming is in August 1662 when he notes that Sir William Batten had gone to Colchester, where his son-in-law, Mr. Leming, was very ill. James Leming died in April 1671, and his widow only a week after her husband, leaving their estate in Colchester and elsewhere, as well as their share in the lighthouses, to their daughter, who was then under age, and by her parents' wills was to be under the guardianship of Thomas Talcott Esq., one of the Aldermen of the town, until she married or became of age. Her share in the lighthouses will be referred to later.

Of Martha, the younger daughter, Pepys has more to say. She married

⁵ *Register of Battersea Parish Church*. In the *Register* he is called Lord Leyenberg. He was for many years the Swedish Resident in this country. Luttrell, in 1689, described him as Baron de Leyenberg, Envoy Extraordinary from the King of Sweden.

William Castle of Rotherhithe, shipbuilder; their marriage license is dated 2 July 1663, when Martha was aged twenty-six, and William Castle, widower, thirty-four (Chester's Marriage Licenses). Pepys makes occasional mention of William Castle, whom he consulted at times in his never-ending quest for knowledge of ships and ship construction. Concerning their marriage he has some gossip, noting on 7 June 1663 that Sir William Penn had told him that 'Mr. Castle and Martha Batten do own themselves to be married, and have been this fortnight. Much good may it do him, for I do not envy him his wife.' On the morning of 5 July Lady Batten sent twice inviting Pepys to go to Walthamstow in their coach to the wedding, but he lay in bed too late and was obliged to hire a horse and arrived too late for the ceremony but in time for the dinner, and like the other guests, received a pair of gloves.

William Castle was one of a family of famous shipbuilders who for generations built ships for the Royal Navy and for the East India Company. The earliest record of them is at Deptford, where their name first appears in the Parish Register about 1612. A branch of the family soon afterwards laid out a yard at Rotherhithe where, too, some famous ships were built. The families were large and their descendants many, but the repetition of the Christian names of John, William, and Robert in the Parish Register of Deptford, Bermondsey, and Rotherhithe make it impossible to trace any line of descent, even had it been necessary, but it is fairly certain that sons and nephews were taken into partnership one yard from the other, and a close connection between the two was continued.⁶

William Castle died in 1681, aged fifty-four, and was buried in the Church of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey, where there is a monument in the south aisle recording that 'William Castle, Shipwright of Redriff,⁷ died 26 June 1681, a Justice of the Peace, Major of the Militia. A man most excellent in his Art,' followed by a Latin inscription extolling his virtues. The death of his wife has not been traced, but her shares in the light-houses passed into the Castle family, and by further subdivisions were held by a number of them during the next generation, most of which can no longer be traced, although just a few come to light in bequests made to descendants, as instance the following.

Robert Castle, of Deptford, sometime the senior member of the Deptford Shipyard and one of the foremost shipbuilders of his time, as well as

⁶ When shipbuilding ceased on the Thames-side, the name of Castle long survived as ship-breakers, one of their jobs being that of *Temeraire*, immortalized in the picture by Turner. The firm only finally went out of business about twenty years ago.

⁷ The ancient name of Rotherhithe.

a considerable property owner in the parish, died in 1698, and by his will directed that his shares in the lighthouse should be sold 'for the most money they can procure' for the benefit of his legatees. His share in the shipyard was bequeathed to his nephew and partner, John Castle, who by inference came from the Rotherhithe family, and he was modest enough to direct that no more than four hundred pounds should be spent on his funeral. Other shares held in the Castle family were one-eighth by a William Castle who died in 1696; and John Castle of Rotherhithe, who died in 1700, bequeathed his 'share and part in the Harwich lighthouses settled on his wife at her marriage' to his son, William. Another share was held by Captain Thomas Wilshaw, a prominent resident of Deptford and sometime Master Attendant at the Dockyard, whose daughter,⁸ Martha, married the above-mentioned John Castle who succeeded his uncle, Robert Castle, as principal partner in the Deptford Shipyard.

Captain Thomas Wilshaw, early in life a master of merchant ships, afterwards served in the Royal Navy, first commanding fire-ships in the Second Dutch War, and later *Royal Catherine* and *Albemarle*. In 1684 he was appointed Master Attendant at Deptford Dockyard, subsequently held the same office at Portsmouth Dockyard, and about 1693 went to the Navy Office in London as Comptroller of the Stores' Accounts. In 1700-1701 he was Master of the Trinity House, to which Corporation he had been elected when Master Attendant at Deptford. He died in 1702 and was buried in St. Nicholas Church, Deptford. He owned a sixteenth share in the Harwich Lights, either bequeathed to him or purchased on the death of one of the Castles. This he left to his daughter, Martha Castle, so that for a time it returned to that family.

This is all that can be traced of those shares which passed down from Martha Batten, and we now return to the descendants of Sir William's second daughter, Mary Leming, in whose family the full ownership of the lights was ultimately vested. As already related, both she and her husband died in 1671, leaving only a daughter, Mary. Mary Leming married Isaac Rebow, merchant, of Colchester, a son of Isaac Rebow (formerly Reboe) whose ancestors, like those of James Leming (originally Lemyng) come from the Low Countries, the name of Rebow first appearing in the town records in 1617, and were among the Dutch refugees who, fleeing from the religious persecutions of the Duke of Alva who was then in possession

⁸ Another daughter of Thomas Wilshaw, Mary, was the wife of Captain Samuel Whitaker (brother of the better-known Admiral Edward Whitaker) who was Captain of Sir Cloudisley Shovell's flagship, and was drowned with the rest of the ship's company when three ships of the squadron were wrecked on the Scilly Islands in October 1707.

of the Low Countries, settled in England, first at Sandwich, Co. Kent, in 1570, and afterwards at Colchester and elsewhere. By 1580 it was agreed by the citizens of Colchester that the town was so full of them that from thenceforth no more should be allowed to settle there without the consent of the Bailiff and Aldermen, and those who followed settled in other towns.

Amongst those who came to Colchester were men of capital as well as of trade and enterprise. They soon introduced new trades into the town, especially the manufacture of a particular kind of bays (now spelled baize) which, formerly of finer and lighter texture, was much used as a clothing material in England. It was an important epoch in the history of Colchester, and they made it a large and flourishing manufacturing town.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth the Bailiff of Colchester obtained the permission of the Privy Council for the refugees to form a 'Dutch Congregation' with their own governor and officers. Eventually there were seven other of these Dutch churches in England, where other refugees had settled, namely, in the City of London, at Norwich, Yarmouth, Maidstone, Canvey Island, Sandwich, and the Dutch Chapel Royal at St. James's, Westminster, which were, however, under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. In the reign of Charles II, James II, William and Anne, the Dutch communities decreased, especially so when the wars of Queen Anne closed the markets of Spain, a great consumer of the particular kind of cloth which formed their chief source of wealth. Although some of the families had become absorbed into the communities of their respective towns, many returned to Holland, and the congregation at Colchester dwindled away and was dissolved in 1728.

Isaac Rebow, senior, who died 13 April 1699, aged seventy-two, had started in life as a comparatively poor Flemish weaver, but by care and industry acquired a modest estate as well as an established position in the town. His son, however, succeeded in making a considerable fortune, and further increased his wealth and strengthened his position in the town and country by his marriage to Mary Leming, on whom had also descended the estate of Sayer, another prominent Colchester family.

According to Morant's *History and Antiquities of Essex* (1768) he lived in 'a very good house just within the Headgate, in the parish of St Peters,' and that he acquired a great fortune. King William III, on his several journeys to Holland, via Harwich, usually stayed a night at his house, Colchester being a reasonable day's coach journey from London, before continuing on to the port, and both being of Dutch origin, would

have some interests in common. In March 1693 His Majesty acknowledged his frequent hospitality by conferring on him a Knighthood⁹ 'at his house in Head Street.'¹⁰

By his marriage to Mary Leming (Sir William Batten's grand-daughter) Sir Isaac Rebow acquired the largest single share in the lighthouse by reason of the fact that his wife had been an only child, and appreciating that the annual revenue was gradually increasing year by year, and would in time become a very valuable asset, proceeded to buy up the remainder of the shares. There is no record of these transactions, as they were just ordinary private sales, and within a few years Rebow owned all except one-eighth held by William Batten, one of the grandsons of Sir William. Half the lease had run and no doubt the holders, feeling less certain of the future than Sir Isaac Rebow, were ready to accept a reasonable offer, whereas the latter may have been confident that his influence was sufficient enough to ensure his getting a renewal of the lease.

In the meantime the Trinity House, ever watchful of the private lighthouse owners, and always having in mind to get possession of their lights, petitioned King William in December 1691 that no new grants of lights be made to private persons 'for ye future and that ye Reversion of all those already so granted may upon expiracion of ye present Letters Patent be settled upon this Corporacion,' which the Master, Admiral, the Hon. Edward Russell,¹¹ 'was pleased to undertake to present to his Majesty.'

No reply to this is recorded, nor is it likely that one was made; it was one of several petitions the Corporation made on the same subject for upwards of one hundred and fifty years. Sir William Batten's successors, however, escaped a more serious risk of losing their inheritance only a few years later when in 1697 the King promised Sir Francis Compton to give him a new lease of the Harwich lighthouses on the expiration of the present one.

Sir Francis Compton was the fifth son of Spencer Compton, second Earl of Northampton, and brother of Henry Compton (1632-1713), Bishop of London from 1675, who exercised much influence during the reign of Charles II, but the accession of James II altered his position, and an attitude of open hostility to the government was forced upon him; by 1685

⁹ Shaw's *Knights of England*, however, states that Sir Isaac Rebow was knighted at Harwich on 26 March 1693.

¹⁰ Luttrell, *A Brief Relation of State Affairs*, from September 1678 to April 1714, in 6 vols. Printed, Oxford University Press, 1852.

¹¹ Created Earl of Orford in 1697. First Lord of the Admiralty in 1694. He was an Elder Brother of Trinity House 1689-1727, and Master thereof 1690-1692.



The New High and Low Lighthouses, Harwich, built in 1818



The Town of Harwich in the early nineteenth century
Reproduced by courtesy of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich



Harwich Lights, as seen by William Daniell in *A Voyage Round Great-Britain*, 1820
Reproduced by courtesy of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich

he had been dismissed from all his offices. In 1688 he was one of the seven, and the only prelate, who signed the invitation to William of Orange to occupy the English throne.

Sir Francis commanded the Royal Regiment of Horse; the Comptons being hostile to the late régime, at the Revolution Sir Francis with his regiment went over to William who had landed at Torbay, in Devon, and was marching on London. Bishop Compton crowned the new King and Queen in April 1689, but thereafter held no high office and seems to have been overlooked until the accession of Queen Anne.

Sir Francis was promoted to Lieutenant-General, and in 1692 served with the Duke of Leinster in the Flemish campaign. He was one of many seeking lighthouse patents, and although he failed to secure the Harwich Lights, he received other favors, including the lucrative post of Gentleman Usher for his son, in the place of Sir Edward Sutton. He finally distinguished himself by marrying a minor, as Luttrell records on 31 October 1699, 'Sir Francis Compton, 70 years old (of the Earl of Orford's Regiment) has married a young lady of 17.' He lived to the age of eighty-seven and died 20 December 1716.

As the Harwich lease still had twenty-eight years to run, it was an easy promise to make, and certainly Sir Francis Compton was taking a very long view. Some official negotiations, however, took place, as the Treasury Papers record as follows: 'Sir Francis Comptons petition for a grant to set up two lights near Harwich, after the term of the present patent, and the King had granted the same at a fine (payment) of £350: he had since been informed that it was of greater value than £1,700, and praying the King would grant him the £1,200 which he had told Lord Scarborough he would give.'¹² The Treasury minute of 14 April (1697) is: 'To have £1200 if he can get it and His Majesty to have ye overplus, if any.' Nothing further is recorded and the negotiations appear to have ended. Sir Francis may have thought better of pursuing a project from which he could not hope to reap any profit in his lifetime, or Sir Isaac Rebow may have had sufficient influence to safeguard his own interests.

In 1707, Sir Isaac, realizing that over forty of the sixty-one years lease had run, that it might expire within his own lifetime, and in the meantime others would almost certainly be busy in attempting to secure the renewal of it by offering better terms, as Compton had done, or by pay-

¹² Richard, Viscount Lumley, in 1688 signed the invitation to William of Orange, and at the Revolution rode out to secure the north of England for the new King. On the accession of William he was appointed to several high offices and was created, in 1690, Earl of Scarborough. Queen Anne continued him in his appointments and made him a Privy Councillor.

ments to the right people in order to secure their influence; and furthermore, the Trinity House who, unlike individuals, did not die, would be awaiting the end of the lease to renew their claim, decided to apply for a further lease at once, despite the fact that the existing one still had eighteen years to run. King William was dead, and with him any promises he may have made to others, and the time seemed most opportune.

In this he was successful, and by a grant dated 27 November (1707) secured a lease for a further thirty-one years to commence from the expiration of the existing one (in December 1725), and to terminate at the end of 1756. Luttrell, who was still recording the principal events of his time, notes on Tuesday, 14 October: 'Sir Isaac Rebow, Member of Parliament for Colchester, has obtained a patent for supporting two lighthouses at Harwich.'¹³ The general tenor of the grant was the same, for 'Two lights to be continually burning in the Night-Season whereof Seafaring men and Mariners may take notice of and avoid and escape dangers, and the Ships the better come to their harbors and ports without perill.'

There must have sometimes been difficulty in the past in demanding and collecting the dues from shipping, some evidence of which is to be found concerning most of the private lighthouses. Sir Isaac Rebow desired to remedy this, and avoid in future the disputes with contentious owners and shipmasters. This was now obtained by an additional clause in the new lease whereby certain public officers, namely, the Commissioners of the Treasury, Wardens of the Cinque Ports, the Master, Wardens and Assistants of the Trinity House, and Justices of the Peace, in their several offices, were bound to aid and assist the said Isaac Rebow, upon his request, in fulfilment of his rights of collecting the dues. Furthermore, the revenue was 'to be received by Sir Isaac Rebow without any account being made to anyone'; all of which made his position more secure.

Although the rent to the Crown remained at £5 a year, the new lease was subject to a 'fine' or payment of £1,350, a small fee for such a long term and lucrative privilege, which went on increasing in value by reason of the growth of trade as well as the gradual increase in the size of ships, which, of course, paid dues on their tonnage. Furthermore, no additional capital expenditure was needed. The grant also specified that William Batten, already referred to, who owned one-eighth share of the Lights should pay his proportion of the 'fine,' and £12.10. 0., being one-eighth of the charge for passing the new grant, and if not paid within the specified time the grant was to be made wholly to Sir Isaac Rebow. This

¹³ *Relation of State Affairs*, VI, 222.

is the last that is heard of William Batten, and whether he failed to pay his share or was bought out is unknown, but thereafter the Lights were wholly in the Rebow family.

It may be that Sir Isaac had originally tried to get the renewal for a longer period than thirty-one years but had been unsuccessful. Queen Anne died in 1714, and on the accession of George I he again petitioned the Crown for a further extension of the lease. He had long been a Member of Parliament for Colchester, and his influence was considerable; nevertheless, it is difficult to understand on what grounds such an application could be made; however, he was even more successful and obtained a further grant, dated 20 March 1716, for sixty-one years from the termination of the previous one (which ended in 1756), thereby securing the lease of the Lights to his heirs and successors for the next hundred years, namely until December 1817.

* * *

Reverting to Harwich, and the lighthouses, the principal early history of the town is by Samuel Dale¹⁴ who, although an antiquarian, was better known in his time as a botanist and a contributor to *Philosophical Transactions* on subjects of natural history. In 1730 he published *The History of Harwich and Dovercourt*, which principally consisted of the manuscript of one Silas Taylor, written in 1676. Silas Taylor, a Captain in the Parliamentary forces during the Civil War, was, through the influence of friends, made Keeper of the King's Storehouse at Harwich Dockyard in the time of Charles II and during his years of residence there compiled a history of the town. He died in 1678 and was buried in the Church of St. Nicholas, Harwich, when his goods, together with his manuscripts, were seized by his creditors and so dispersed. Some years later the manuscript came into the possession of Samuel Dale who, as he relates in the preface to his book, reproduced it verbatim, adding in smaller type the result of his own researches, which mainly consisted of natural history subjects, so that the description of the town is principally as written in 1676.

Harwich is an ancient town, the name is of Saxon origin, but Roman remains have been found there. It obtained a charter and was made a borough and market town in the reign of Edward II in the year 1318, and its liberties and franchises were confirmed by subsequent charters. In the time of Queen Elizabeth it was a port of some consequence, which found ships and men for Drake's fleet against the Spanish Armada. Ac-

¹⁴ Samuel Dale, of Braintree, County Essex (1659-1739). An account of the family, and the work of Samuel Dale, is given in *The Essex Naturalist*, XIX (1919).

according to Greenville Collins, *Britains Coasting Pilot*, 1693, the harbor had been much used by the early Virginian traders 'being more convenient for unloading their goods, having good store houses for that purpose by the water side.'

It must have had a considerable trade in earlier times, when Essex was the center of the weaving industry and woollen goods an important part of the country's export; and in the time when grain was exported, some of the richest cornland was (and still is) in the locality. It also had a prominent place in the Greenland and North Sea fisheries. Shipbuilding was carried on there until the early part of the seventeenth century, when the industry migrated from the East Anglian ports to the Thames-side, and some of the more eminent shipbuilders there were from Harwich and the locality, such as the Petts, Grays, Graves, and Deane. The industry was revived there after the naval base had been established during the First Dutch War (1652-1654) and after 1665 men-of-war of considerable size were built there. The county of Essex had plenty of oak suitable for shipbuilding and the industry continued there until near the end of the wooden ship era. Incidentally, the countryside still provided oak for building wooden nonmagnetic minesweepers in the late war, when shipbuilding was temporarily revived in the small Essex port of Wivenhoe, where ships had been built as far back as the sixteenth century.

The town in early times was surrounded by a wall having four gateways and was a well-fortified place. The principal gate was on the south side of the town, generally known as the Town Gate, before which there was a ravelin (outwork of a fortification) and drawbridge, and it was over this gateway that the High Light was placed, and where it continued for one hundred and fifty years. The drawbridge, which led on to what was then the main road to London, was destroyed in the time of Charles I, when a battery was set up near the foreshore and outside the town wall, for the defense of the town, and the gateway then became an open road. The town wall was largely built of a peculiar clay-like substance dug out of the adjacent cliff which, on exposure to air, set into a solid rock and became more and more impervious with age.

A considerable part of the wall was pulled down about 1740 and is said to have been partly of Roman work, and the material then used for paving the town, but some of it survived into the early years of the nineteenth century. According to *The Harwich Guide* written in 1808, some remnants of the old town wall were still standing at that time, including the old Town Gate, which by then was no more than the lighthouse structure.

Much of the former importance of the town arose from its being the station of the Post Office Packet Service to the Continent, the shortest sea passage between England and Holland being from this port, where the stage coaches from London arrived every Monday and Thursday. As a consequence of this service the town always had an unusually large number of inns for the accommodation of travellers, often delayed there by adverse weather, but at one time they were none of the best and had the reputation for extortion and of taking every advantage of the unfortunate travellers marooned there sometimes for lengthy periods. One early writer describing the town has left this quaint description of its people: 'The inhabitants are far from being famed for good usage to strangers, but on the contrary are blamed for being Extravagant in their Reckonings in the Public Houses.' For over two hundred years a fleet of fast sailing vessels maintained the mail service via Holland to the greater part of Europe, their seamen having such local knowledge and being so skilled in the navigation of the sands of the Dutch coast that they were invariably exempted from impressment.

It is to Silas Taylor's manuscript, written only a few years after their establishment, that we owe the first description of the lights.¹⁵ In this he says: 'In a room over the Gate there is a Light kept all Night, blown by a Fire of Sea-Coals, which answer to a lesser and lower Light upon the Town Green. Then two Lights brought together by Ships from the Sea, conduct them clear of the Andrews (a Sand stretching from Landguard Fort, which makes as it were a bar across the entrance of the Harbour) into the Rolling Ground where there is good anchorage. . . .'

Samuel Sale adds to this original account a note that in the Low Light 'are every night set up six great candles, each weighing one pound,' and that to secure the lighthouse the shore about it is 'wharfed in' (protected by timber piles), that there were 'water shies of Timber' (groynes) to protect it from the sea, and that the lighthouse was supported by long timbers to protect it from being 'overturned by Storms, or high Tides,' which indicate a not very substantial structure in a somewhat exposed position. There is a suggestion in a later account that the Low Lighthouse was rebuilt about 1727. An old woodcut of 1712 shows it as a crude structure from which was suspended a simple lantern, and one which may well have required rebuilding from time to time.

Concerning the harbor, Dale says that great use was made of it during the Dutch Wars, and 'There has been in it one hundred sail of men-of-

¹⁵ *Samuel Pepys's Naval Minutes*, Navy Record Society, makes a note of 'the ill-keeping of the lights' at Harwich, and elsewhere.

war, with their attendants; and between three and four hundred sail of collier ships all in the harbor at the same time, and yet none of them crowding or riding in danger one of another.' Although a spacious harbor, this description is certainly impressive. Greenville Collins' *Britains Coasting Pilot*, a volume of charts of the coasts published in 1693, contains one of the approaches to Harwich Harbor which shows the positions of the two lighthouses and their bearing when in line. The only mention in the text is: 'Keep the lights together until past the Andrew Shoal'; this, however, is the extent to which they are referred to in any sailing directions during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, these aids to the navigator not being developed to any extent as useful guides until the early part of the nineteenth century. Collins' charts were amongst the first to have a wide range of use by mariners; the Trinity House subscribed a considerable sum of money towards their production, and their own printers, Richard Maunt (afterwards Mount and Page), published them.¹⁶ The Borough of Harwich whose Council no doubt included some prominent merchants and mariners, thought well of the charts, describing them as 'a most excellent work in surveying of all the Sea Costes and Sandes,' and ordered a subscription of £10 towards their publication, and 'to be paid out of the rents of the town.'

Morant, *History of Essex*, 1768, said of Harwich that the town consisted principally of High Street, Church Street, and West Street, out of which lanes branch out on each side. These streets appear on maps of the town of a much earlier date, and the description very aptly describes Harwich Old Town today, so that the layout has altered very little in the past three hundred years and some of the present older buildings must date back over most of that period. His description of the lights is similar to that of Dale's and, except for very minor changes, they remained as when first established in 1664 until they were rebuilt in 1817. According to *The Harwich Guide*, written in 1808, some remnants of the old town wall were still standing at that time, including the old Town Gate, isolated from any other remaining parts, and only continued as the lighthouse structure. In another and contemporary account it is recorded that about 1790 a large polished brass or copper plate was placed behind the coal fire to act as a reflector, and effect some slight improvement in the very inadequate light, and in or about 1772 the candles at the Low Light were replaced by a lamp burning sperm oil. These small improvements were no doubt made in response to the complaints being made of the coast lights in general, and by the local traders to those of Harwich in particular,

¹⁶ Their successors published further editions during the next one hundred years.

and to the comparison now being made between coal fire lights and those where oil lamps had replaced them. These complaints in the early years of the nineteenth century culminated in more urgent demands for better lights, and although improvements were made, the last coal-fire light on the coast was not abolished until 1825 (St. Bees Head, Cumberland).

* * *

To return to the ownership: it will be recalled that Sir Isaac Rebow obtained his second renewal of the grant in March 1716, which continued his lease until December 1817. He died 19 September 1726, thus outliving the period of Sir William Batten's original lease by nine months. He had represented Colchester in Parliament in 1692, and continuously from 1705 until 1722, and was High Sheriff for the County of Essex and Recorder of Harwich. He possessed a considerable estate in Colchester and the surrounding district, and also owned Colchester Castle, a Norman fortress which had been sold in 1683 to be taken down, but the fabric was found to be so solid and its destruction so costly that it was abandoned, and still survives today. Leaving aside the bequests of no interest here, he bequeathed to his son, Isaac Leming Rebow, with other property, the lease and revenue of the Harwich Lights.

Isaac Leming Rebow married Mary, only daughter of Captain Matthew Martin of Wivenhoe Park (near Colchester) and Alresford Hall, one of the two representatives in Parliament for Colchester 1722-1727 and 1734-1741. Isaac Leming Rebow was the other member, 1734-1741; thus for some years the town was represented by the son of a former member, and his own father-in-law. Captain Matthew Martin was an Elder Brother of Trinity House from 1720 until his death in 1749. He had formerly been a commander in the service of the East India Company where, besides acquiring a considerable fortune, he had distinguished himself, firstly by defeating Angria, a notorious and much dreaded pirate in the East Indies, and later, when in command of *Marlborough*, he defeated, or perhaps it would be more correct to say eluded, the French ships of war which had been specially detailed to harass the East India Company's trade, and brought his ship, laden with a valuable cargo, home in safety. For this service the East India Company presented him with a thousand pounds and a gold medal set with diamonds of five hundred pounds value.¹⁷

A further connection of Captain Martin with the Trinity House is provided by the fact that he married a daughter of Captain Samuel Jones, an Elder Brother of the Corporation 1705-1935, and sometime Deputy Master. Captain Jones, too, had been in the service of the East India Com-

¹⁷ *The Essex Review*, VI (1902), contains a full account of Captain Matthew Martin's exploits.

pany and commanded one of their then largest ships, *Tavistock*, which afterwards was Captain Martin's first command, so it is reasonable to suppose that he had formerly served as an officer under Captain Jones. Captain Martin had considerable influence in the Colchester district; he was Deputy Lieutenant of the County and a Justice of the Peace; High Steward of Colchester and Mayor of the Borough 1726-1727; and like Captain Jones was a director of the East India Company. He died in July 1729.

Isaac Leming Rebow died in March 1734 and was succeeded by his son Isaac Martin Rebow who acquired most of his father's estate at Colchester as well as the lease and revenue of the Harwich Lights. He also inherited through his mother the Wivenhoe estate of Captain Martin. Like his forebears he was a Member of Parliament for Colchester—in five successive Parliaments—and Recorder for County Essex. He married his cousin Mary, daughter of Thomas Martin, K.C., the eldest surviving son of Captain Matthew Martin, and by the marriage Alresford Hall, the last of the estate of Captain Martin, passed to the Rebow family.

Isaac Martin Rebow died 22 September 1781 leaving his estate somewhat involved, and a long time elapsed before his affairs were settled. To a 'natural son,' George Edwards, then a midshipman in H.M.S. *Intrepid*, and stationed in the East Indies, he left a considerable annuity, and likewise to the mother of George, which involved a lawsuit. The remainder of his estate went to his widow and three daughters, Mary Hester, Sarah, and Frances. His widow, who had acquired the lighthouse revenue, soon afterwards surrendered it to her three daughters, but the youngest, Frances, died in 1793, and Sarah, in 1798, and the whole revenue then came into the possession of the eldest, Mary Hester.¹⁸ She married, 29 March 1796, Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Slater, of the First Regiment of Life Guards, who, on his marriage, took the arms and surname of Rebow and became Slater-Rebow.¹⁹ He subsequently had an important part in the ownership and ultimate sale of the Harwich Lights.

In 1809 Colonel Slater-Rebow realized that the lease had only another eight years to run. He would be aware that public opinion was very slowly but very definitely hardening against the private ownership of lighthouses and that in recent years the grants for all new lights had been given to Trinity House, and that they still maintained their claim to the ownership of all lights on the coasts. At the same time the revenue from

¹⁸ She died in July 1834, aged 57.

¹⁹ Colonel, afterwards General Slater-Rebow, born in 1770, was a son of Richard Slater, of Chesterfield. He had much active service, being present at the taking of Martinique, St. Lucia, and Guadaloupe, and served on the staff through the greater part of the Peninsula War.

his own was considerable and still steadily increasing, and an income not lightly to be allowed to lapse. Also, another claimant to them had appeared; as harbor lights, the Borough Council of Harwich considered that the dues from them should be for the benefit of the town.

After, no doubt, reviewing the procedure of Sir Isaac Rebow, three generations earlier, he decided to make the first move, and in the above year petitioned the Crown. He set out the sequence of grants made to his predecessors, which would expire in December 1817, and stated that frequent applications had been made by shipowners and masters to improve the Lights by converting them to oil lamps, which he was prepared to do. The expense of such alterations, however, would be very great, and he desired that before doing so he might be at liberty to renew the lease.

As a result of his application some correspondence ensued between the Lords of the Treasury and the Commissioners of Woods, Forests, and Lands, in whom was vested the Crown leases, enquiring whether they were justified in granting a new lease before the expiration of the old one, and this question was referred to the Crown Solicitor with whom it rested for over a year. On hearing of the application the Trinity House at once applied to have the Lights transferred to them, but only received an acknowledgment and no answer to their request; however, in November 1812 they were asked to report on what improvements in the lights should be made as a condition of the renewal of the lease to the present owner, which they did, and added that if so leased, it should in future be under their superintendence and control, to ensure that the lights were always properly maintained.

Harwich Borough Council now learned that the future of the Lights was under consideration and addressed a petition to the Earl of Liverpool soliciting his interest in obtaining for them the new lease, in order that the revenue might be applied to repairing the church, and paving and lighting the streets of the town. His Lordship's²⁰ reply is not recorded, but in any case they were too late, as a Treasury minute of 27 November (1812) admitted the lessee's claim, and at the same time approved of the recommendations of the Trinity House and ordered that the overriding control by that Corporation should be embodied in the new lease, and desired the Commissioners of Woods, Forests, and Lands to report for what period and at what rent such lease should be made.

Slater-Rebow, now promoted to Major-General, was serving on the staff of the Duke of Wellington, in the Peninsula War, and had left his

²⁰ The Earl of Liverpool soon afterwards was elected to and became Master of Trinity House, so that his interests now would more likely be with the claim of the Trinity House.

affairs in the hands of his friend and attorney, William Bullock. The latter had pursued the question of the lighthouse lease with considerable zeal, and also with some anxiety as to its success. Being unaware of the Treasury minute of 27 November, and very concerned at the long delay in any reply from the Treasury, as well as by the rumors that others were competing, and might possibly get possession of the Lights, on 21 December he addressed a letter to General Slater-Rebow, to Lisbon. In this his attorney advised him that since his leaving England he had learned from 'indisputable authority' that the Corporation of Harwich had again applied for the lease of the Lights and stating their reasons for it 'which are not devoid of weight, and this they have done just at the moment that they have returned the Chancellor of the Exchequer²¹ as one of their representatives in Parliament, and I have reason to think that he is at present much inclined to support their petition. I have also some reason for believing that the Corporation of Trinity House are endeavoring to get a lease of these lighthouses for themselves. Under these circumstances, and knowing as I do that these Duties have produced you and the Rebow family for many years past, a clear Income, upon an Average, of £5,000 per annum. I readily confess that I feel most seriously alarmed.' He went on to say that the responsibility imposed upon him in this matter during General Slater-Rebow's absence was more than he was equal to, and as every possible exertion and interest which could be used was most necessary, he urged him in the strongest terms to obtain leave from the army and return immediately and personally exert all possible interest amongst his influential friends 'to prevent the loss of so large a part of your property; and I am the more encouraged to do this as the prevalent opinion is that the Army, before you receive this, will be gone into Winter Quarters, and therefore you may be the better spared for two or three months, within which time I have good reason to believe that the business will be brought to a conclusion.'

In the meantime the Board of Ordnance wrote to the Lords of the Treasury stating that they required the land on which the lighthouses stood for army purposes, but in August 1813 their Lordships replied that they could not have it, as it was intended to renew the grant to the petitioners. The Treasury pointed out that 'the lessee's ancestors having originally constructed the lighthouses, which have continued in possession of the family ever since that time,' and that the terms upon which the grant will be renewed 'will be very advantageous to His Majesty's Land Reve-

²¹ William Huskisson (1770-1830), statesman. He was made Secretary to the Treasury in 1807; Minister of Woods, Forests, and Lands, 1814; President of the Board of Trade, 1823.

nues, and also to the public service in general, in an improved construction of the Lights, upon principles approved by the Corporation of Trinity House, and therefore they do not feel justified in transferring the control of the property to another Department of State.' This reveals the curious attitude of mind of state officials concerning the country's lighthouses at that period, to say nothing of military requirements in time of war.

The question of the terms of the lease was quietly resting with the Crown Solicitors when, in July 1814, General Slater-Rebow again addressed the Treasury, pressing for a favorable answer to his application (of five years earlier). It was not until 7 April 1815 that their Lordships gave final consideration to the lease and then resolved that, as it was customary to give preference to ancient lessees of the Crown in the renewal of their leases, they were prepared to grant a new one to the present holder for a term of thirty-one years on the terms recommended by the Crown Lands Department. At the same time they at last replied to the petition of the Borough of Harwich, and directed that the Mayor be informed 'that with every anxiety to meet the wishes of the Corporation of Harwich they would not be justified in departing from that course uniformly pursued in which a preference has been given to ancient lessees of the Crown on the renewal of leases.'

They also directed that General Slater-Rebow be informed that they would authorize the Lands Department (Commissioners of Woods, Forests, and Lands) to renew the lease on terms which would be proposed to him and that a portion of the dues received would be reserved, in the nature of a rent to the Crown, as would leave the lessee more than an adequate return for the capital expended and the responsibility of attending the lights.

The terms were that the revenue, after the expiration of the lease, should be first applied to rebuilding the lighthouses, and thereafter three-fifths of the net revenue should go to the Crown and two-fifths to the lessee. As the lessee incurred no personal expenditure in the rebuilding, this still represented the gift of a handsome income, considering the value of money at that period. And so, after six years of negotiation and delay this fairly simple matter was at last finally settled.

The Trinity House had recommended the demolition of the ancient structures and the building of new lighthouses equipped with the then newly invented Argand lamps and reflectors, and Mr. Rennie,²² the well-

²² John Rennie (1761-1821), civil engineer; well known as a constructor of canals, docks, harbors and bridges. Designed Waterloo Bridge, London Bridge, as well as Plymouth Breakwater; father of Sir John Rennie (1794-1874), who carried on his work and completed London Bridge and Plymouth Breakwater.

known civil engineer, was invited to draw up a specification for the new towers and lanterns. His original estimate of cost was £6,069, but a later decision to raise the High Light from sixty to seventy feet and to build two cottages for the lightkeeper added a further £1,500. The final cost was about £8,000 and General Slater-Rebow was allowed five per cent interest on expenditure until the cost of the buildings had been liquidated by the dues received.

The new tower for the High Light was commenced in 1817 and completed early in the following year. The Trinity House had kept a general supervision over its construction, and on 10 March (1818) they issued a Notice to Mariners that the new lights would be exhibited for the first time on the night of the thirty-first of that month, and informed them that the lights were on the same line of bearing as the former. The Notice was precise enough to state that each light had been built nine feet south-westward of the original sites. It also informed mariners that the tower of the High Light would be carried up some forty feet above the level of the lantern room, in order to provide a better daymark for entering the harbor.

As agreed with the Commissioners of Crown Lands the Trinity House sent their architect and engineer to supervise the building of the towers, and in July 1818 when two members of the Board went to Harwich to inspect them, they gave their opinion that it would have been better had the High Light been carried higher, because when seen from a distance the two lights appeared nearly parallel. They did not blame the lessee or the supervisors, as these had accepted the advice of the local mariners and others of long experience of the harbor, who were unanimous in advising that the new lights should be at the same height as the old ones. This criticism proved to be well founded. On 1 February 1819 the Low Light was changed from white to red to make it, as the Notice to Mariners states, 'more distinguishable from the High Light.' This, however, did not overcome the difficulty, and complaints continued to be made to the Trinity House, who had become unofficially responsible for the efficiency of the lights. Some of these complaints appear to have come from those who had formerly advised building to the height of the original ones. In March 1822 the Corporation, again assuming some responsibility, gave directions for the High Light to be moved to a higher level in the tower, which fortunately was easily effected as it had been carried up so much higher in order to provide a better day mark. The High Light was first exhibited from its new position on the night of 13 May of that year.

Although the terms between the Crown and General Slater-Rebow had

been agreed upon, the Lights rebuilt, and the division of the revenue effected, no lease had been signed. The delay in signing was probably due to the Commissioners of Crown Lands desiring to wait and see the result of the growing opposition to the private ownership of lighthouses, for questions were now being asked in Parliament concerning the heavy dues on shipping, and the lucrative revenue derived by the lighthouse proprietors was being criticized. In 1822 a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Trade and Navigation recommended that no private individual should profit by any public lights, and that all the interests should be purchased and no more grants made. No action, however, was taken on their report; the question died down, and eventually on 5 January 1827 a lease was signed for a term of twenty-two years. This represented the remainder of the thirty-one years granted by the Treasury, from the termination of the old lease in December 1817. General Rebow's interest was thus secured until the end of 1848.

* * *

There is no record of the value of the Lights in earlier times. When the patent was granted to Admiral Sir William Batten, Pepys said it was 'the gift of a fortune,' but this may have been only a general remark. Nevertheless, from the keen competition to secure such grants, they must have been lucrative, having regard to the monetary value at that time. Nor is it possible to estimate the maintenance costs. The amount of coal consumed was necessarily considerable, but it was relatively cheap to deliver at Harwich. No doubt the principal debit was the commission in the collection of the dues. The collection was effected by having an agent in practically every port in the country, usually a Customs Officer or port official, who was paid a percentage of the amounts he collected.

The agents in turn forwarded their receipts to a Principal Collector in London who kept the complete accounts, and who not only was paid his commission in the London receipts, but also a commission of sixpence in the pound on the total received from the outports. This was by way of payment for keeping the accounts, so that the proprietors who lived remote from the lighthouses had no concern other than to receive the quarterly payment of their revenues.

For the year 1803 a statement of the receipts and expenditure for Harwich Lights has survived, the total received being £4,900. The amounts from each of sixty ports is separately shown. The highest, £1,800, was collected at Newcastle, this being on account of the large collier traffic; London came next at £1,200, and thereafter the amounts range from £150 at

Hull down to those of only a few pounds. The expenditure included £445 to the Overseer of the Lighthouses for disbursements, which evidently included wages of the lightkeepers, coal, and all other expenses at the lighthouses; £86 allowance for the collection of the outport dues (referred to above), and minor fees, which included the £5 rent to the Crown, bringing the total to £548, and leaving a balance of £4,352 for the lessee.

A few other fragmentary accounts have survived. In 1812 there is one for £60. 15. 0. for thirty chaldrons of coal at £2. 0. 6. per chaldron, but there is no indication anywhere as to how long that quantity normally lasted. In 1815, the Low Light having long before been converted from candles to oil, an account was rendered by Messrs. Charles and Samuel Enderby, the well-known London whaling-ship owners, amounting to £24 for eighty gallons of sperm oil at six shillings a gallon.

The next available account of the revenue is for a later period, after the lighthouses had been rebuilt and the Crown then receiving a part of the dues. *The Report of the Select Committee on Lighthouses, 1834*, gives the revenue, expenses of maintenance, and division of the balance for each of the four years 1828 to 1831. During these years, the gross revenue rose from £8,345 in 1828 to £9,898 in 1831. In the latter year, the total disbursements at the lighthouses amounted to only £580, which included £149 for 434 gallons of sperm oil (at between six and seven shillings a gallon), £20 to the local agent; £94 wages to the lightkeeper, and £50 for an assistant to him during the winter months; the remainder being for repairs, stores, land-tax, and local rates which included poor-rate, church-rate, and a paving rate. Of the balance £4,840 was paid to the Crown and £3,227 to the lessee.

Parliament was now giving more attention to these extraordinary bounties of thousands of pounds which were being annually paid to private individuals and which constituted a heavy tax on seaborne trade. Following the Report of the Committee of 1834 Parliament accepted the recommendation that all the leases of private lights should be purchased by the State, and that all lights and sea-marks (except local harbor lights) should be placed under the control of the Trinity House. The Committee further recommended that the Crown Lands Department should not profit from lighthouses. Concerning Harwich Lights and others, whose leases had been renewed since the Reports of Parliamentary Committees in 1822 and 1824, the Committee stated that the action of its Commissioners in renewing the leases was 'highly objectionable and improper.'

By Act of Parliament 6 & 7 William 4th. Cap. 79, their recommenda-

tions were put into effect and the Treasury authorized the Trinity House to come to terms with the owners of the private lighthouses which then totalled ten. As was inevitable, the negotiations lasted for several months; however, on 1 November 1836 General Slater-Rebow accepted the terms of the Trinity House, which were a payment of £31,730 for the twelve years and five days remaining of his lease from the date of their taking possession. This was calculated on the basis of the net revenue of 1835 at 4½ per cent. Thus, after one hundred and seventy years the lighthouses of Sir William Batten, and five generations after him, passed into public ownership.

* * *

To conclude the account of the Rebow family, General Francis and Mary Slater-Rebow had three children, two of whom died in infancy; the survivor, a daughter, Mary, was born about 1805. In 1824 when nineteen years of age and described as Mary Martin Slater-Rebow, of Wivenhoe Park, a marriage was arranged between her and Sir Thomas Ormsby Bt. Her marriage settlement included a share of the Harwich lighthouse dues, which share was to descend to their first and any other sons. Sir Thomas, however, died in 1833 without issue. His widow, Lady Mary Martin Ormsby,²³ in 1835, assumed the name of Rebow in addition to his surname of Ormsby, and soon afterwards married John Gurdon Esq.²⁴ of Letton, Co. Norfolk, who also by a similar Royal Warrant, took the surname and arms of Rebow, as Gurdon-Rebow,²⁵ on 2 September 1835.

General Slater-Rebow retired from the army in 1840 and died at Wivenhoe Park, 7 October 1845, in his seventy-sixth year. He was for some years a Magistrate and Deputy-Lieutenant for the County of Essex. His daughter died sometime before 1845 (without issue), in December of which year her husband, John Gurdon-Rebow, married, secondly, Georgina, fourth daughter of Hector John, second Earl of Norbury. John Gurdon-Rebow represented Colchester in Parliament 1859 and again from 1865 until his death, and was High Sheriff in 1852. Although not descended from Sir Isaac, he was the fourth Rebow to represent Colchester

²³ *London Gazette*, 7 July 1835 (p. 1332). To the widow and relict of Sir Thomas Ormsby Bt. of Cloghans, Co. Mayo, decd. and heir of Lieut.-General Slater-Rebow, license and permission to assume and use the surname of Rebow in addition to that of Ormsby.

²⁴ At St. Georges, Hanover Sq., London, 28 July 1835, John Gurdon Esq. to Lady Ormsby-Rebow, widow of the late Sir Thomas Ormsby Bt. and only daughter of Lieut.-General Slater-Rebow of Wivenhoe Park.

²⁵ *Gent. Magazine* 1835. John Gurdon was a descendant of Colonel Gurdon who served in the Parliamentary Army in the Civil War and was present at the siege of Colchester in 1648.

²⁶ *London Gazette*, 5 September 1835 (p. 1698). Royal license and authority to John Gurdon Esq. to take and use (in compliance with the wish of his father-in-law) the surname of Rebow, in addition to and after that of Gurdon . . . and the said surname and arms of Rebow may be in like manner used by the issue of his marriage.

in Parliament, and like all those who bore the name, took a leading part in the public life of the ancient borough. He died 12 October 1870 at Wivenhoe Park, aged seventy-one. His son, Hector John (by his second wife), born in 1846, continued the name of Gurdon-Rebow. He, too, was High Sheriff of Essex, in 1882, and Mayor of Colchester 1884-1885. He carried the name of Rebow into the present century, but with his death the name disappeared.

* * *

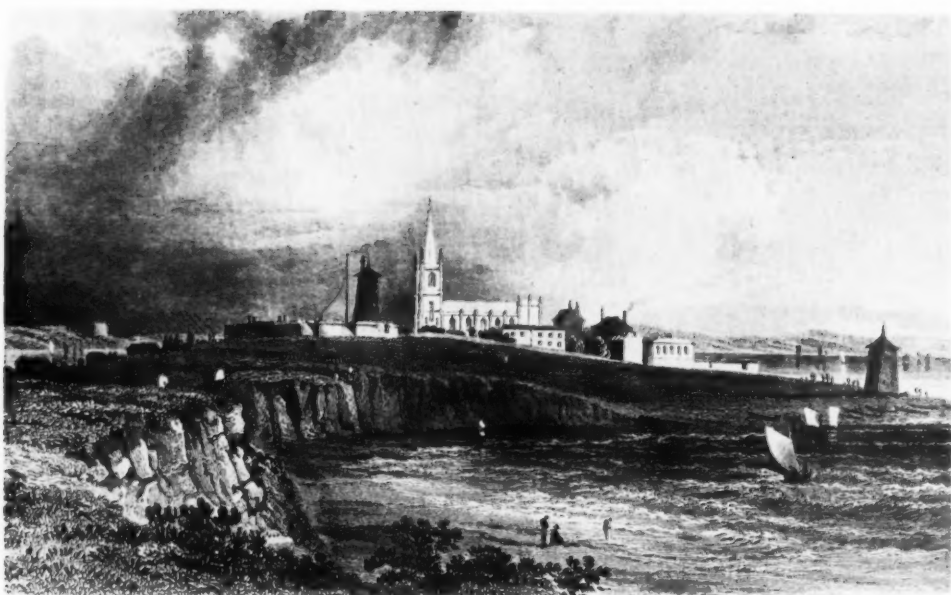
Harwich had flourished during the years of frequent wars, but with the end of the Napoleonic Wars, the long period of peace ended the activities arising from its having been a base for naval transports serving the fleet in the North Sea, and during the first half of the century it had a somewhat decreasing prosperity. The shipyard, which had flourished (with brief spells of inactivity) for more than one hundred and fifty years, and where as late as 1793 a 38-gun frigate had been built, was disposed of to private ownership. During the next two or three decades, some notable merchant ships were built there, but with the passing of wood shipbuilding the yard was eventually closed down. Redundant and neglected for many years, the same site became a naval shipyard in the two great wars of the present century, but only to be again abandoned with the return of peace.

Wright's *History of Essex*, written in 1834, devotes very little space to Harwich, but does mention that the prominent features of the town were the two new lighthouses, the church (rebuilt in 1822) and the Martello Tower, the latter having been erected against invasion during the Napoleonic Wars, and Wright says it was the largest of its kind on our coasts and bomb-proof (that was in 1834, not 1940). A battery still existed near the Low Light, built during the same period, at which time the London Road was diverted through the marshes (reclaimed along the harbor shore) to clear a space for further fortifications.

The packet service to the Continent was lost for some years, owing to the early steam packets being based on the Channel Ports (some of which vessels were built at the Harwich Shipyard), but when the East Coast Railway was carried through to Harwich the packet service was again established with steam vessels and the port gradually regained its former importance. In the course of time, Continental shipping services made Harwich their terminal, to which was later added the train ferry service, and Harwich has now become one of the principal ports for Continental passenger services. As the base of the Harwich Flotilla, under the command of Admiral Sir Reginald Tyrwitt, in the 1914-1918 war, it



Harwich Lights about 1830



Harwich Lights about 1850

reached the peak of its importance as a naval port. In more recent times it has become the principal base of the Trinity House Lighthouse Service.

Nearly all the private lights purchased by the State still survive, and have been so improved during the past century as to rank with the best in the world. Harwich Lights proved a bad bargain. Within a year of their purchase in 1836 an easterly gale swept away the groynes and sea-defenses of the Low Light, and extensive repairs were necessary to save it from being washed away. A greater difficulty, however, arose within a few years which eventually made the lighthouses useless.

Throughout the centuries, the channel to Harwich Harbor had gradually shifted. In earlier years the change was almost negligible and for nearly two hundred years the lights in line led ships between the Andrew and Ridge Shoals in safety, and might well have done so for many more years; however, the dredging for and digging out of the cement stone (already mentioned as being peculiar to the locality) eventually affected the flow of the tide and caused the shoal at Landguard Point to gather the shingle and extend itself seaward.

In the early years of the century a demand arose for the stone, which was used in the manufacture of Roman cement. At first the removal of the cliff was negligible, but within a few years it had increased and no fewer than five hundred men were engaged in the digging and in the burning and crushing of the stone to make cement. Later, however, the trade ended with the introduction of Portland cement; but meanwhile the damage to the harbor had been done. It was estimated that a million tons of stone had been dug out. Not the least of the offenders was the Board of Ordnance which owned the land at Beacon Cliff, and took no fewer than 200,000 tons of the stone for government use. In the process of digging, many times as much soil was washed away.

By 1845 the lights in line no longer led ships in safety between the shoals. The situation gradually became worse, several ships stranded, and reports made to the Admiralty by Trinity House met with no response. The Select Committee on Lighthouses in 1861 gave considerable attention to the Harwich Lights and evidence was taken from a number of witnesses. Incidentally, one of those called was the Principal Keeper there, then aged seventy-four. In the course of his evidence he said that he had lived at the lighthouses all his life and well remembered as a boy having worked the bellows of the old coal-fire light, in the early years of the century.

On 4 February 1862 the Trinity House again wrote to the Lords of the Admiralty directing their attention to the urgent necessity for taking

measures to preserve the entrance of Harwich Harbor from destruction by the extension of Landguard Point. The Trinity House had then already decided to abandon the Harwich lighthouses and erect new lights on a site acquired at nearby Dovercourt. These were constructed on the then newly-invented iron screw pile system. Having bought the site on the foreshore at Dovercourt, the Trinity House were met with an objection which makes curious reading today. No sooner had they started building, than a strong protest was made by the bathing house proprietor that the lighthouses would interfere with the privacy of his bathing establishment, since the lightkeepers would be able to overlook the ladies' swimming pool. This difficulty, however, seems to have been surmounted, as the work went on and nothing further is recorded of the objection. The baths there were by no means new; Morant, in his *History of Essex*, in 1768, mentions them, and Walpole, writing in 1755, speaks of the 'new Salt-water baths at Harwich, which, next to Horse-racing, grows the most fashionable resource for people who want to get out of town.'

The two Dovercourt Lights were first exhibited on the night of 2 November 1863 and the Harwich Lights were then discontinued. The new lights in line led ships between the Andrew and Ridge Shoals and served their purpose for the next fifty years. The old Harwich Lighthouses remained the property of the Trinity House for many years, until in 1909 the old High Light was sold to the Harwich Corporation for £75, and ever since has been used as a private residence. The Low Light was vested in the Harwich Corporation for the nominal sum of ten shillings, on condition that they retained it in good order and did not transfer it to any other body corporate or person, and that should the Trinity House, in consequence of the shifting of the sands, again require it for lighthouse purposes, it should, at three months' notice, revert to their ownership.

In August 1917, as a part of a comprehensive scheme between the Harwich Harbor Board and the Trinity House for marking the approaches to the harbor by lighted buoys, the Dovercourt Lights were discontinued. Now, like the Harwich Lighthouses, these stand as monuments to past endeavors to guide mariners into the harbor in safety. During the late war, Harwich was bombed by the enemy and all the buildings around the old High Lighthouse were demolished or burnt out, but General Rebow's tower survived undamaged.



An Atlantic Crossing of the Seventeenth Century

BY GEORGE CARRINGTON MASON

THE accompanying transcript of a lawsuit in admiralty, prosecuted over three centuries ago in a Virginia county court, gives a vivid impression of the perils encountered when crossing the broad Atlantic in one of the frail and unseaworthy sailing vessels of the period. The particulars of this suit have been taken from one of the oldest continuous sets of county records in the United States, those of Norfolk County, Virginia, which are preserved in the county clerk's fireproof office at the courthouse in Portsmouth, the county seat.

These records date back to the founding in 1637 of the original county of Lower Norfolk, the western half of which became Norfolk County in 1691. Although painstakingly inscribed in the best 'court hand' of the time, the records contain many archaic letter-forms and can only be deciphered with assurance after years of practice.

In accordance with legal custom, the verdict of the court was entered first, and the depositions and other documents in the case were then appended to it. To restore the true chronological sequence, this order has been reversed and our transcript begins with the original charter party initiating the voyage, this being followed successively by the depositions of the ship's company and the award of damages by the court.

This charter party is dated 4 September 1646 at Aucusion in Holland, and provides for the employment of a Dutch ship, *Fox* of Aucusion, on a trading voyage to Virginia, the parties to the charter being the English merchants William Wright, Rowland Marfbone [Marlbone?] and John Bason, of the one part, and Reynard Cornelius [or Cornelison] 'the Foxe, husband and Maister of the Shipp,' of the other part. This little vessel is described in the charter party as 'of burthen about twoe hundred and sixty tunnes' and, according to the tonnage measurement of her day, must have been slightly under one hundred feet long.

The suit was occasioned by the fact that the ship was so completely un-

fit for such a voyage that she narrowly escaped foundering in the heavy seas encountered during the Atlantic crossing. As a result, the merchants not only lost the goods originally shipped in the vessel, through salt-water spoilage, but in addition, did not dare to risk more of their goods on a return voyage.

The justices of the Lower Norfolk County court, sitting as commissioners in admiralty, assessed damages of £400 sterling against Reynard Cornelius, to be paid within six days, as 'but a reasonable satisfaction for soe great an hinderance, & such damage' to the English merchants. One of the plaintiffs, William Wright, died shortly after the ship's arrival in Virginia, perhaps from the hardships of the voyage, and actions in debt were immediately entered against his estate and against John Bason, the other complainant, by William Shipp of Lower Norfolk, who had presumably financed the whole venture.

This record affords a striking illustration of the extreme antiquity of many of the nautical terms used today, most of those occurring in the transcript being intelligible to the modern reader, despite some quaint variations in usage and spelling. A few obsolete expressions are met with, such as the 'luffe knee,' which appears to be the 'main knee' which backed up the stem and helped to support the forecastle head, 'luffe' being an ancient term for the broadest part of the ship's bow. To 'would the said shipp with Hawsers' was to strengthen it by passing heavy ropes around the hull, 'quite under the keel,' as described earlier in the same deposition; 'would' being an old 'sea term, for the winding of ropes round a mast or yard that has been strengthened.'¹

To 'fish' the mast, likewise a not too familiar expression, is still current as a nautical term, and means to strengthen a spar by fastening a plank on each side of it, in way of a crack. 'Stantialls' is, of course, an attempt to write 'stanchions' and is understandable as such. The 'boweing lengthwyse' of the ship is the familiar phenomenon of 'hogging and sagging,' always destructive to the caulking of a wooden ship.

The geographical identity of the several places mentioned, while at first obscure, is readily resolved by comparison of a map of this period² with one of today. 'Aucusion' is then seen to be the modern port of Enkhuizen [Anchusa] on the western shore of the Zuyder Zee, while 'the Tassell' is obviously Tessel or Texel, at its North Sea entrance. 'The Mase' is an antique form of the Maas or Meuse, and refers particularly to

¹ Falconer, *Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (London, 1635).

² Jansson, *Le Nouveau Phalot de la Mer* (Amsterdam, 1635), Book II, 1.

the channel at the mouth of this river, which leads directly to the port of Rotterdam.

The transcript follows:

Lower Norfolk County Wills and Deeds, 1646-1651, B, p. 30:

In the Name of God, Amen. A Charter party made the fourth day of September 1646 and an agreement made by mee Abraham Pyll a publique Scrivener allowed and admitted by the Lords of Holland dwelling in Aucusion in the presence of the following partyes namely William Wright, Rowland Marfbone and John Bason together and every one as all (in Solidiem) all English Merchaunts and fraighters to Reinard Cornelius the Foxe, husband and Maister of the Shipp next under God named the Foxe being of burthen about twoe hundred and sixty tunnes, and being mounted with sixe good Iron gunnes, and all other Ammunition for warre accordingly made in manner and form as followeth, (vizt) that the aforesaid husband is obliged with the shipp to bee ready with the first, to deliver her tight and well Caulkt, and allsoe to bee provided with Anchors, Cables, Sayles and Ropes, and in all other needful necessaries to bee sufficiently provided.

The which being thus made ready, then shall the officers and Mariners bee taken care for by the Fraighters (vizt) their Wages and Victualles; thus done then shall the Maister sett sayle, and runne with the first convenient wynd and weather, right through the Seas to Virginia, and there having delivered and traded her goods, then to lade her again with such goods and wares as the Fraighters please, and then the said Shipp being laded, the Maister and Officers with the aforesaid Shipp. (with the next faire wynd and weather which god shall be pleased to lend) sett Sayle back again for the Tassell, and then to the porte where he is to deliver.

All which in forme and manner before written being accomplished; the aforesaid Fraighters shall then first and not before bee engaged and obliged to pay unto the said husband or his owners for his deferred freight, that is to say for each moneth that the voyage shall last (to reckon a Running moneth according to the Almanack) the summe of five hundred gilders per month, together with Averige and Pylotage according to the manner and custome of the seas; which voyadge shall beginne when the said Shipp shall be without the last boye in the Tassell.

And then the said Shipp being arrived at the desired port, and at Anchor; then shall the Fraighters bee engaged for seaven months certaine,

although the voyage could bee performed in a shorter tyme; but in case it doth contynue longer, then to pay as is before menconed; vizt every moneth five hundred gilders; And it is allso agreed that the Freighters in theire Returne may putt into Rochell to seeke convoye, but fynding there none for Tassell, the said Freighters may then arrive in the Mase; there being arrived, the Freight shall then be due and the shipp out of pay.

Allsoe it is agreed that if the said Shipp doe arrive in the Mase that the Freighters shall pay half of the Charges to bring her to the Tassell or otherwyse to agree thereupon; Moreover it is conditioned that the shipp shall not bee carried into any unfree place to trade in any Manner; Allsoe we are on both sides agreed that the Shipp shall be ready to sett sayle in the space of one and twenty dayes without further delay or any neglect of eyther side, beginning upon the Nynth of this instant moneth; Further the Freighters shall pay for such powder as they shall unnecessarly shoote away or deliver other powder in the place; Allsoe it is conditioned that the Freighters shall give to the Shipp one Jack and Flagg.

Allsoe it is conditioned that the said husband shall eat and drinke and sleepe in the Cabbin at the Freighters' charges: but his wages to bee payd him by the rest of his owners: It is allsoe conditioned that the said husband shall have privelidge to lay into the Shipp soe much goods as may produce fowre hogsheads of tobacco without paying Freight for; And it is agreed the shipp shall bee delivered at Aucusion; Whereunto wee bynd ourselves each to other for the performance of what is aforesaid menconed both in our persons and estates; and especially the Freighters their goods shipped aboard, And the husband his said shipp, Freight and all belonging to her; to bee under submission unto all Courts and Justice; all this being uprightly done within Aucusion in the presence of Peter Hooke and Herrick Coppias; as witness hereunto with me . . . Notarie Publique.

[Note: The signatures to this charter party are not recorded.]

Lower Norfolk County Wills and Deeds, 1646-1651, B, p. 31:

At Sea, the seaven & twentieth of November 1646.

A Testificacon of all the seamen belonging to the Shipp called the Fox of Aucusion in Holland concerning the insufficiency of the said Shipp being bownd for Virginia to loade merchaunts' goods: Having found amisse in her, in the first place, her luffe knee being broken; secondly her plancks workeing afore and alsoe in the hould; thirdly her plancks and knees betwixt decks workeing and boults broken and Trun-

nells: fourthly in her sternne wee found a great Leake: fifthly, All her Seames afore and after above water without board and within was all very leakey, soe that wee had noe place to keepe any goods drye in the Shipp, nor a dry place for any man to sleep in: Sixthly her sides working both from the deck: Seaventhly, her main mast was crack, soe that in extremity of weather wee were forced to fish the Mast, eighthly, wee had not one spare boulte, nor Rope, nor block in the shipp, nor scarce one good, Running Rope in the shipp. Nynthly there is severall beames broken, and seaverell knees come from the side. Tenthly, at Sea wee were forced to strike our Gunnes into the Hould to ease her Sides, that they did not one fall from the other, eleaventhly: that being not enough wee were forced to Strike her Anchors from her bowes and Cables and putt them into the hould. A second tyme our Mayne Mast workt and wee stayd him and fisht him and in staying of him we halled up beame and deck and all, unto all which the said Seamen, both dutch and English and Chyrurgeon belonging to the said shipp have deposed and upon their Oathes doe affirme the Same to be truth before the Commissioners aforesaid, the 15th day of February 1646 [1647] and allsoe have hereunto Subscribed their Names:

Josias Smith, Arion Michell, Dereck Powell, William Chapman, Ambrose Cooke, Doede Doedes, Gerritt Gerrits, William Slason, Thomas Michell, John Luke, Nathaniel Harraway, Tyb Yacox, Arys Fooxzoon, Edward Hall.

Lower Norfolk County Wills and Deeds, 1646-1651, B, p. 32:

The deposiçon of Owen Powell merchaunt aged thirty five yeares or thereabouts sworne sayth That being about two hundred Leagues out from the Tassell to the best of this deponents knowledge, about twelve of the Clock at night or thereabouts hearing and perceiving the insufficiencie of the Shipp this deponent caused the Carpenter to goe and viewe the shipp in severall places and demaunded of the Carpenter, whether he knew any help or Remedy for the strengthening of the said Shipp; the Carpenter replied that he knew none; thereupon there were two lights hung out, one before and one behynd, to give notice (as this deponent did conceive) to the other Shippes for to Releive them; Whereupon the other Shippes stayed that Night; The next morning William Wright and Reinard Cornelison the Foxe and this deponent went aboard Peter Smyth to seeke some Releife and necessaryes to Supply the want of the said Shipp: and finding there very little Releife this deponent remayned aboard the said Peter Smyth two dayes and two nights, in regard that he was fearefull

to adventure himselfe in the said Shipp: but after this deponent considering that his goods & merchandize were aboard the said Shipp Foxe he the deponent went aboard againe and there contynued with much discontent, and greatly discomforted, seeing the Shipp workeing her sides from the deck, and allsoe boweing lengthwyse, one of her fore beames being Rotten; and fell; insoemuch that this deponent tooke peices therefrom with his hand, her mayne mast crackt in two severall places, and some certaine Stantialls sett betweene decks, to hold the deck, and to strengthen the shipp, soe farre as the Company could conveniently doe; likewise the said Shipp was bownd about with three hawsers quite under the keele and they had not one place (to the best of this deponent's knowledge) but was defective both for lodging and otherwyse; and further sayth not.

Edward Hall, Chirurgeon of the shipp called the foxe sworne sayth that the said Shipp being in Company with Peter Smyth and being in a most desperate condition, the deponent and the whole Company of the said Shipp the Foxe, were very willing and desirous to have transported themselves with the said Peter Smyth, but he not willing to entertayne them, the deponent and the said Shipp's Company were inforced to committ themselves to the mercy of God: and for to would the said Shipp with Hawsers; And further sayth not.

Thomas Todd shipp carpenter aged thirty sixe or thereabouts sworne sayth, That he this deponent being hired to come to worke aboard the Shipp called the Foxe did fynd the said Shipp very unfitting for the transportaçon of any merchaunts goods, without dammage nor fitting to adventure to Sea without great Casualty and daunger to the best of the deponents Judgement. And further sayth not.

Lower Norfolk County Wills and Deeds, 1646-1651, B, p. 28:

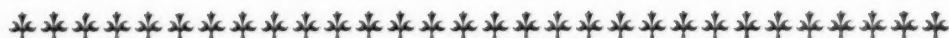
At a Court held the 15th day of February 1646 [1647]:

The Court doth think fitt and accordingly order that Owen Powell merchaunt as an Interpreter shall truly explayne unto the board out of dutch into English and out of English into dutch betweene William Wright and John Bason Complainants and Reinard Cornelius Fox defendant, concerning the matters in question and nowe in controversie about the Shipp called the Foxe of Aucusion; for the true and faithfull performance whereof the said Owen Powell hath taken his corporall oath by the appoyntment and Iniunction of the Court:

Upon long hearing and much debating of the matters in controversie between William Wright merchaunt and John Bason marriner Com-

playnants against Reinard Cornelius Foxe defendant concerning the Shipp called the Foxe of Aucusion in Holland in her voyage from thence to the port of Virginia. And whereas it appeares by a Charter party made betweene them produced in Court and faithfully translated out of the Dutch into English that the said Reniard Cornelius Foxe did amongst other things ingage and oblige himselfe unto the said Wright and Bason that the said Shipp was well Caulkt and tight and should bee sufficiently provided with all needful necessities whatsoever And whereas it appeares by sundry testimonyes and many deposiçons of able workemen and carpenters taken upon Oath whoe have viewed, searched, and have been imployed about the said Shipp; and allsoe by the testimonyes and deposiçons of all the Seamen both dutch and English belonging to the said Shipp, and taken upon Oath, that the said Shipp is very badd insufficient and unserviceable and not fitting for her Voyadge intended by the Charter party aforementioned; And whereas it appeares likewise by testimonyes taken upon Oath that by the ill estate and sadd condiçon of the said Shipp the Foxe (being contrary to the Undertakeings & Ingagements of the said Reniard Cornelius Foxe in the Charter party the said Complaynants Wright and Bason and all other Freighters of the said Shipp dare not hazard their persons nor will adventure their goods therein, by reason whereof the said Complaynants Wright and Bason have not onely altogether lost their voyage but are very much dampnified as sufficiently appeares unto the Court; and as is afore declared.

It is ordered that the said Cornelius Foxe shall pay or sattisfy unto the said William Wright and John Bason and to the other hyrers or freighters of the said Shipp (being mençoned in the said Charter party) the summe of fowre hundred pownds Sterling money, within sixe dayes which the Court doth conceive and adjudge to bee but a reasonable satisfaction for soe great an hinderance, & such damage sustayned by the said Complaynants Whright [*sic*] and Bason and the other Freighters of the said Shipp by the great insufficiency thereof in her Intended voyage specified in the said Charter party. And it is allsoe further ordered that Reniard Cornelius Foxe shall paye and satisfy all Court charges als execuçon.



Captain Richard H. Gayle of Alabama and the Voyage of the Rodmond, 1856

BY W. STANLEY HOOLE

CAPTAIN Richard Haynesworth Gayle, son of Governor John Gayle of Alabama, brother-in-law of General Josiah Gorgas, Confederate Chief of Ordnance, and uncle of General William Crawford Gorgas, U. S. A., was born in 1832 at Greensboro, Alabama.¹ In 1851 he was appointed midshipman in the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, where he remained until 27 July 1853, returning home to complete his education at Spring Hill College, Mobile. On 3 May 1856, at the age of twenty-four, long enamoured of the sea and, as he put it, 'in accordance with a long formed determination . . . impelled by a restless disposition,' he embarked in the steamer *Oregon* 'for the purpose of going to South America.' During the voyage, which lasted quite longer than was anticipated, as well as on others later made, Gayle kept what might be called an epistolary journal, an account of his experiences in the form of letters written back home to Josiah Gorgas (then a Captain in the United States Army) and his wife, Amelia Gayle Gorgas, and other members of the family.²

The first letter, covering the period 3 May-28 December 1856, describes his unique voyage from Mobile to Havana to Aspinwall, Panama,³ and thence by rail⁴ across the Isthmus to Guayaquil (Ecuador) and Callao

¹ Gayle's mother, Sara Ann Haynesworth (1804-1835), was born in Sumter County, South Carolina, and was married at Sheldon Plantation on the Alabama River, Clark County, Alabama, 14 November 1819. For a brief account of Gayle's life see Mary Gayle Gorgas, 'Captain Richard H. Gayle,' *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, XXX (1949), 206-207.

² The originals of Gayle's letters, written between 1856 and 1865, and together called 'The Journal of R. H. Gayle,' are in possession of Miss Maria Bayne Gorgas and Mrs. George Palfrey, daughters of General Josiah Gorgas, and Mrs. Jessie Leake, granddaughter, the Gorgas Home, University, Alabama. I am deeply indebted to these ladies, not only for permission to use the material, but also for their many kindnesses bestowed upon me in the preparation of this paper.

³ Gayle's comments on Panama ('It is a place forsaken of all good things, and the sooner an earthquake engulfs it, the better') are particularly significant in the light of the great work done there in 1904-1913 by his nephew, General William Crawford Gorgas (1854-1920), who 'rid the Canal Zone of yellow fever and made the cities of Colon and Panama models of sanitation' (see *Dictionary of American Biography*, VII, 430-432).

⁴ Aspinwall, now Colon, was named for William Henry Aspinwall (1807-1875), New York mer-

(Peru) where, by a fortunate circumstance, he acquired command of the damaged bark *Rodmond*. Hastily putting *Rodmond* in repair and with himself as Master (though previously he 'had never taken any responsible part in the navigation of a vessel'), he sailed around Cape Horn and one hundred and thirty-four days later put in at Genoa, Italy.

Gayle's own account of his trip, written to Gorgas from Genoa late in December 1856, follows verbatim:

May 3rd, 1856.

On the 3rd of May, 1856, in accordance with a long formed determination, I left Mobile and all my friends, for the purpose of going to South America. Impelled by a restless disposition, and not properly appreciating the thousand difficulties that a stranger in a strange land must necessarily encounter, I recklessly threw myself upon the great tide, to catch it at its ebb or flood, as the fates might determine.

On the 3rd of May, after telling them all at home good bye, I started for the boat. Carefully avoiding such of my friends as I saw on the street, to prevent them from seeing the tears that 'spite of myself almost blinded me I at least reached the steamer *Oregon*, at 2 O'clock bade a long farewell to Mobile.

The next morning we arrived at New Orleans, and I immediately proceeded to the St. Louis hotel, at which place Maria and Tom Bayne [Thomas L. Bayne, a New Orleans attorney, and Gayle's sister, Maria, his wife] were staying. At breakfast I was introduced to Capt. Griffin of the steamer *Granada*. Years before I had known him slightly, but had forgotten him. I was glad to renew the acquaintance, for independent of the fact that he commanded the steamer on which I expected to go to Havana, he was a pleasant gentleman. In the afternoon, I went with Bayne and Maria, to look at their house. I thought it just the place they wanted, for besides being just the proper size for them, it was conveniently arranged and pleasantly located. That night I told them good bye, and early next morning went aboard the steamer. At 8 A.M. we cast off from the wharf, and I was fairly started on my adventures. As is the case aboard of every passenger vessel there was at first much noise and confusion, but soon every one settled into his proper place, and we went along as smoothly as possible. As I had not purchased a ticket at the office on shore, I went to the purser to pay my passage. Judge of my surprise when he told me that the Capt. had instructed him to make no charge. He did not use those words, for he simply said 'there is no charge,' but I knew it was by the

chant, who built the first railroad across the Isthmus of Panama in 1855 and was one of the organizers of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company.

orders of the Capt. This was a courtesy the more appreciated from the fact that, I had no right to expect such a kindness from Capt. Griffin. The run to Havanna was a most pleasant one. We were not too much crowded, the weather was pleasant, and the Capt. and officers were attentive and polite. About 8 P.M. on the 9th we made the light on the Moro Castle, but owing to the port regulations, were compelled to remain outside all night, and consequently did not get in until next morning. As soon as possible, the passengers all went ashore. Those who were bound for California were all sent to the St. Nicholas hotel by the agent of the company, where they were packed away like mackerel in a barrel. I went to 'Woolcot's,' which though an inferior hotel, is decidedly the best in Havanna. The proper way for a stranger to live in Havanna, is to get furnished apartments, and to live at restaurants. This, besides being far more pleasant, is about one half cheaper.

I did not remain in the city long enough to see much of it, and cannot say I was much pleased with what I did see. I suppose that like all other places it is pleasant or otherwise, as one has acquaintances or is a stranger. I do not recollect seeing a single public building that presented a handsome exterior. The churches were to me, clumsy, sombre looking buildings, filled with the usual coarse statues of Saints, and the Madona. The only thing I saw there, really worthy of notice, (always excepting the vegetation) was the 'volantes.' Of all the absurd, curious looking things, this surely takes the precedence. Imagine two long shafts made fast to a monstrous pair of wheels: then a body, not balanced on the axeltree, but resting partly on it, and partly on the shafts. Take a little horse, plait his tail and tie the end of it to the saddle; put a negro in a pair of huge boots, mount him on the horse, and the 'volante' is complete. The shafts are so long, that between the tail of the horse, and the carriage, there is ample room to harness up another animal. This is almost the only kind of carriage that is used in Havanna. All classes, from the noble to the negro, ride in them, and they certainly form one of the most striking features of the city. Every evening crowds of them, filled with ladies, may be seen around the doors of the cafes (particularly Dominico's). The odd looking vehicle, the black drivers buried in boots, the gayly dressed señoritas, and the bright lights forming quite an animated and interesting scene. Dominico's is the best cafe in Havanna, and one can be cheated there with more politeness than at any other place in the city. The finest private residences are just outside of the city walls. They are all built in that fashion peculiar to the Spanish. For instance, you sometimes see the 'volante' snugly covered up in one corner of the parlor. I think the most

magnificent street I have ever seen is the one running alongside the city walls. It must be nearly one hundred yards wide, and has five rows of trees running it's whole length. At the foot of it stands the far famed Moro Castle. The palace of the 'Captain General,' fronting on the plaza, is a large but not a handsome building. The lower part of it is let to who will rent it. Every evening at 8 o'clock, a military band plays an hour. And speaking of the military, they certainly have fine music, and well drilled men.

The harbor regulations of Havanna are very strict. No vessel is allowed to either enter or leave the port after sundown. No one, not even a transit passenger, is allowed to land without either a permit, or a passport. All baggage is examined both on landing, and embarking. All strangers must land at one particular spot etc., etc., etc.

The steamer with which we expected to connect, did not get in from New York, until four days after us, so there we were with our hands in our pockets, with nothing to do but lounge about the cafes all day. At length on the morning of the 13th the *Illinois*, the steamer for which we were waiting, arrived. She had aboard of her nearly eleven hundred passengers. There were one hundred and twenty of the *Granada's* to go aboard, making in all, about twelve hundred. Such a crowded vessel is not often seen. There was literally no place for half of us to sit down. At night, hundreds had to lie down on the bare deck without blanket, mattress or pillow. As for meals, four tables were set, and as the fourth had to take the leavings of the first, second and third, they fared badly. The first 'tablers' fared badly, and as there are only three degrees of comparison, I lack a means to tell how the fourth got on. The Captain seemed to care nothing about the comfort of his passengers, so long as himself, and a half a dozen prostitu[t]es he had with him were well attended to. He seemed lost when he did not have one of these disgusting creatures hanging around him. The second day out, he had the impudence to post the following notice—

'In consequence of the great number of passengers on board, meals will be served as follows. Breakfast—1st table at 7—2nd do. at 8—3rd do at 9—4th do at 10. Dinner at 2. 3. 4 and 5. Tea for the first table at 7, the others will be discontinued.'

Now when it is known that each one had his own numbered seat at a numbered table, it will be easily seen that the greater number of us got no tea at all. This was not much of a hardship, or rather would not have been if we could have all got a sufficient dinner. But we at the third and

fourth tables fasted almost all the time. 'On account of the great number of passengers!' Why did he take on board more than he could provide for? Strange to say, every one quietly submitted. So it was during the whole dreary five days. The passengers all discontented and uncomfortable, and the Captain and his charmers entirely indifferent. This was in the Cabin. In the steerage it was of course much worse. There; there was really suffering. Five hundred men, women and children packed in a place that can only be compared to the 'black hole of Calcutta.' But it remained for our arrival at Aspinwall to cap the climax. We got there about 8 o'clock on the evening of the 17th. The night was dark and rainy, and we were all strangers in the place. No one expected to go ashore until morning, and many of them had made their arrangements for retiring. What was our astonishment when the agent of the company came aboard, and ordered us to go ashore. But where are we to go? was asked. Why! 'to the hotels,' was the reply. Forty or fifty of us young men vowed we would not go. Why! the idea of driving women and children from the vessel under such circumstances, was monstrous. The agent finding it useless endeavoring to make us go, called for the Captain. As soon as he said go, almost all the bold fellows went like a flock of sheep. Many ladies who were going to their husbands in California, and were consequently travelling alone with their children, were ordered off. Many of them were much distressed, and appealed to the men for protection against this outrage. I felt so indignant that I publicly denounced such conduct, and declared that though I had neither wife or child with me I would not go ashore. Four or five others said they had come to the same determination, and the consequence was that we, several married men, and all the women and children who were alone remained aboard the vessel. The steerage passengers would not go, so the officers of the boat turned the smoke from the chimneys into the steerage, and smoked them out. Yes! men calling themselves Americans, did this cruel thing. Some of the women and children fainted from suffocation, and had they not been assisted by their fellow passengers, would probably have died.

The next morning we all left the ship, heartily glad to get away from her, and her scoundrel of a captain. The fact that the hotels charged four dollars for a night's lodging and breakfast furnishes a sufficiently obvious reason for driving every one on shore. The strangest part of the whole is, that the passengers after getting ashore did not give some very emphatic public demonstration of their dissatisfaction. But enough of the *Illinois*, and Capt. Boggs.

In company with some engineers whose acquaintance I had made on

board of the boat, I went to the Aspinwall house. And speaking of the Aspinwall house, I may as well remark 'en passant,' that it is the single redeeming thing in the town. The proprietor is obliging, and keeps a really good hotel. The town is a miserable collection of small wooden buildings, built with an eye to cheapness more than anything else. The population is a mixture of whites, natives, and Jamaica negroes. It is without exception, the filthiest place I ever saw. The negroes are exceedingly insolent, and when the opportunity offers, very insulting. Fifteen minutes is amply sufficient to disgust any one with Aspinwall. As the cars were crowded with California emigrants, we determined to remain in Aspinwall until monday. All day Sunday, drunken negroes were screaming and fighting in the streets, and they made the night hideous with their noises. Early next morning we were up, and ready. At half past 8 we started, and without accident arrived safely at Panama at 3 P.M. The engineers with whom I had been all the time, immediately went aboard of a schooner, and started for their destination 'Buenaventura.' This left me all alone, and as it is exceedingly irksome to be without company in a strange place, I incontinently fraternized with a dutchman who was going to Lima. He proved to be a clever fellow, and as we were dependent on each other for amusement and society, we endeavored to make ourselves as agreeable as possible.

The best; indeed the only decent hotel in Panama was the 'Aspinwall house.' Whether connected with the one on Aspinwall of the same name, I don't know; I only know the charges were the same. While I'm thinking of it, I may as well put down the items of cost in getting from Mobile to Callao.

From Mobile to New Orleans	\$6.00	Permit to land	\$ 1.00
Carriage	0.50	Hotel 4 days	12.00
Hotel 1 day	3.00	From hotel to steamer	1.00
Carriage to steamer	0.50	Passage to Aspinwall	50.00
Passage to Havanna	30.00	Porterage & hotel 2 days	7.00
Carriage to hotel	0.50	Passage to Panama 47½ miles	25.00
		Extra baggage 10 cts. per pound	3.40
Brought forward	139.90		
Porterage to hotel	0.50		
Hotel 12 days	36.00		
Porterage to steamer	2.00		
Passage to Callao	150.00		
Incidental	20.00		
total	348.40		

The above is the actual cost. The passage from Aspinwall to Panama, a distance of only $47\frac{1}{2}$ miles, is \$25 dollars, and all baggage over fifty pounds is charged at the rate of ten cents per pound. My trunk fortunately was a light one, weighing only 84 pounds, so they got only three and a half dollars out of me. But some families that were emigrating to California, and were taking every thing they had, were in some instances compelled to pay fifty dollars extra.

The first news we heard on our arrival at Aspinwall was of a terrible railroad accident. It seems that a train of cars started from Aspinwall with about 1000 passengers. When about half way to Panama, it ran off the track, and killed and wounded about one tenth of those who were aboard. It is hard to die at any time, but when one is full of life, and sanguine of success in some new scene on which he is about to enter, it is peculiarly so. Here many looking forward to comfort and competency in a new country, were suddenly, and without warning hurled into eternity; leaving behind them mourning widows and helpless little orphans to face without assistance, the cold uncharitable world. It would make the hardest heart bleed to look upon the misery caused by that calamity. It is terrible to loose those upon whom we look for support and sympathy under any circumstances: but in a strange land, where the loss leaves us entirely destitute, it is beyond description mournful. I doubt whether any thing ever caused a greater amount of suffering than this fearful accident. Many a bride was suddenly made a widow, and her honey-moon turned into a time of mourning. Many a mother could only clasp her helpless orphans to her bosom, and call upon heaven to help her in her extremity. Many a husband who a few minutes before saw life robed in brightest colors, now cursed the hour he trusted his all to so treacherous a guidance, and as he looked upon the mangled bodies of his wife and children abandoned all those hopes with which a short time before his bosom was filled. Well, well! Sixty were buried; how many were made cripples for life is not known. We can only hope the law will compel the railroad to support those, whose natural protectors it destroyed. Most of the *Illinois*' passengers went immediately to Panama, but about a dozen of us remained in Aspinwall until monday. All day Sunday we wandered up and down the hotel wishing for monday to come. Sunday night was wound up by the negroes dancing, yelling and fighting among themselves. Next morning we started for Panama. The scenery on the isthmus is rich beyond description. All kinds of tropical vegetation flourishes with the utmost luxuriance. Hill and dale combine most picturesquely, and running streams are not wanting to add their cooling influence to the

fairly scene. No wonder that the natives are enervated and apathetic, for it almost seems that the curse 'by the sweat of thy brow shalt thou earn thy bread,' does not apply to this favored land. The soil as if grateful for the slightest attention, yields all it's wealth upon the least courting, and indeed yields many of it's treasures without the asking. Luscious fruits hang from the trees as if waiting for some hand to extend itself that they might drop in it. Birds of variegated plumage render the forests vocal with their melody. Woods which in their darkness and impenetrability are as mysterious as Egypt's pyramids impart a thousand perfumes to every passing breeze. Contrast the works of art in the old world, with nature's works in the new, and man and his most glorious achievements sink into insignificance. It seemed almost like sacrilege to see the locomotive rush snorting through these heretofore impenetrable thicknesses. Heretofore sacred to solitude, but for the future a busy, life teeming thoroughfare.

We got safely to Panama, and on our arrival received the very pleasant information, that we would have to wait there for the steamer eleven days. There was no help for it so we made ourselves as contented as possible. Like most of the old dilapidated South American towns, Panama is for the most part inhabited by a hybrid race of negroes, Spanish and indians. At the time I was there, the country was in such an unsettled condition, that these half breed rascals, could almost with impunity give a loose to their natural passions, which are rapine and plunder. The unprovoked massacre and robbery of the defenceless California emigrants a short time before is a sufficient evidence of what they will do when they dare. What a pity they did not try the same game again on those who crossed when I did. There were fourteen hundred passengers, and among them about nine hundred men, every one of whom was armed to the teeth. What a lesson we would have taught them had they commenced a row. But no! the cowardly scoundrels knew better. When to oppose them there was only a heterogeneous mass of men women and children, they were as bold as lions and as unsparing as wolves; but when they suspected that in the crowd were a few well armed, and determined men, they were cringing and fawning like the dogs they are. I know of nothing that would give me more pleasure, than to be one of five hundred men who would take Panama, and turn it over to some government powerful enough to enforce it's own police regulations. As in the natural order of events, this whole continent must come under the 'stars and stripes,' why not hurry a little, and take immediate possession of the highway that connects the west with the east? Without Panama, California loses one half

it's value, and if it is only at the eminent risk of life that our emigrants can cross it, we might as well be without it. But 'to return to our mountains [?].' The Aspinwall house at which we were stopping, was decidedly the best in the city. The charges were moderate (three dollars per day) and attendance good. Just opposite was the 'shades' bar-room. Let everything else be empty, the shades were certainly full. It was the common lounging place for all the strangers in the town, and they passed the greater part of their time in it. As a proof of it's respectability, an American missionary was in the habit of playing billiards there hours at a time. One night, I think on the 25th (May 1856) a drunken Irishman fired a pistol at the bar-keeper, and immediately ran down the street, pursued by about twenty policemen. As soon as the report of the pistol was heard the negroes commenced assembling from all quarters, and soon the streets were filled with armed men. Fortunately the bar-keeper was a foreigner, so the scoundrels had not even the shadow of an excuse to proceed to violence, but determined not to disperse without a row, they commenced circulating the report that a native woman had been murdered by an American. This had the desired effect, and though without the slightest foundation, was eagerly caught up and passed from mouth to mouth. Murmurs of 'kill the Yankees while there are but few here,' were heard, and it seemed probable they would proceed to carry into effect their murmurings. The women and children at the different hotels, went to the various consulates for protection, while the men prepared themselves for what might come. By this time the drunken sailor was safely lodged in the calaboose, having been caught and handed over to the police by the French consul. While we were looking about for the best means of defending the hotel, the American Consul made a signal to the sloop of war *St. Mary's* for assistance. In fifteen minutes from the time the signal was made, she had a hundred and twenty men ready to land. The news that an armed force from the man of war was coming, had an immediate and most happy effect. The bold heroes dispersed as rapidly as they had assembled, and we who a few moments before had been thinking how we could save our lives, now put away our revolvers and thanked heaven for the deliverance. Now had not this man of war been in the harbor, I firmly believe that most of the foreigners in Panama would have been murdered. Suppose this bar keeper had been a native; nothing could have prevented these devils from murdering us all; the innocent as well as the guilty. How necessary it is then, when such a circumstance as this can create a riot, for those nations who have an interest in the tranquility of the Isthmus to take some prompt and decided action to secure it. Al-

ready one massacre has taken place, and I fear it is but the forerunner of others.

During the rest of the time we remained in Panama, everything was quiet though at times threatening. On the 30th (May 1856) we bade adieu to the infernal place, and until I go there with an armed force to take it, may I never see it again, except I'm homeward bound.

Panama may most emphatically be called a ruined city. Formerly no place in South America could rival it, either in riches or intelligence. Now, none so poor! But such has always been the effect of too much prosperity with every thing relating to the Spanish.

The old city is buried under the water, having been long years ago submerged by an earthquake.

Panama is at present a city of past times, evidences of it's former greatness, standing as so many reproaches of it's present stagnation. Old churches, which a hundred and fifty years ago were alive with all the pomps and humbugeries of Roman Catholicism, are now only so many places for bats to cluster, and for cold slimy reptiles to glide about. Some of them indeed have been turned to other purposes. Such as cockpits and grog shops: but by far the greater number are abandoned to the creepers which grow from their tops and sides most luxuriantly. Like every thing built by the old Spaniards they are sombre and massive, having but little architectural beauty, or comfortable arrangement. The Cathedral on the Plaza is the only church that is used, and even that is every day showing more and more the effects of time and negligence. It is a vast and strongly built edifice, and if put in good repair, would compare favorably with most South American churches. The good people of Panama had sometime since a quarrel with his holiness the Pope, and now, they do not acknowledge him as the head of the Church. I believe they have all been excommunicated, and will accordingly be lost hereafter. I think it was a useless trouble for his Holiness, for such a set of unmitigated villains must necessarily go to the hottest of all hot places.

Panama was at one time, a walled and very strongly fortified city. A great part of the walls are still standing, but much of them has fallen down. The fortifications have all been demolished, and the guns sold. Where were formerly magnificent barracks, are now only patched up mass of ruins; and instead of soldiers living in them, they are used as prisons, and are full of thieves, murderers and vagabonds. The city walls, which cost millions of money, and years of labor, are so utterly neglected, that in a few years more there will be none of them left. The houses are built of 'adobe' (sun dried brick) and are two stories high. For the most

part verandahs run around them, and they can be made very comfortable. The flooring, even in the upper story is of brick. This is for coolness' sake. They are of course roofed with tiles. The population is negro, indian, and a mixture of the two. There are also many foreigners who do all the business of the place. The streets are badly paved with small round stones, which are most painful to walk over. Except the churches, the public buildings do not at all differ from the private. The water in the harbor is very shoal, and on account of the coral reefs, vessels can not approach nearer than three quarters of a mile. There are many lodging places in the town, but only one decent one, and that is the 'Aspinwall house.' It is kept by a Frenchman, and taking into consideration that it is in Panama, is really a good house. As well as I recollect there is not enough of interest in Panama to detain a stranger an hour. It is a place forsaken of all good things, and the sooner an earthquake engulfs it, the better. Well! as I said before, on the 30th of May, we embarked on board the Pacific Royal steam navigation company's steamer *New Granada*. And 'en passant,' I may as well remark she is about as mean a vessel as ever floated. We poked along out of the harbor, sailed slowly past the island of Taboga, and the next morning were fairly on the bosom of the Pacific, with no land in view. Although it looked just as any other ocean would, still I felt as if it were an old friend. Three years of my life were passed on it, and it seemed probable I was about to make it's shores my abiding place for an indefinite length of time. The blue waves rolled smoothly along, and the water sparkled bright and clear, and the old boat glided through it without any perceptible motion. The passengers were quite a motley crew. Almost every nation was represented, and however much we differed; in one thing we were alike—we were all adventurers. We were all seeking our fortunes in that strange land, which is generally represented as one where every desire can be gratified.

The first place we touched at, was the city of Guayaquil in Ecuador. Unluckily we got there in the night, and as we sailed at daylight, saw nothing of it. We had however a good look at the river, and a noble stream it is; in some places being ten or twelve miles wide. The shores are lined with such forests as only South America can produce. From the vessel, the woods looked like a solid green wall and presented a most impenetrable aspect.

We ran along down the coast of Peru until we came to the little town of Payta. It is a miserable collection of mud-plastered bamboo houses, and contains about two thousand inhabitants. It has nothing in it at all attractive, being only a convenience for Puira, a large town about twenty

miles in the interior. It is built on a sand beach at the foot of a range of sand hills. There is not a tree in sight, the country for twenty miles back being a sand desert. It is resorted to principally by whalers, who like it on account of it's being a hard place for their men to run away from. But despite all it's disadvantages, a few days can be passed in Payta very pleasantly. The most luscious fruits are to be had here in great abundance, being brought in from the country on Asses. The air is always pure and bracing; and the people polite and hospitable. We remained there five or six hours to 'coal,' and then started for Lambyaque; and the other intermediate towns between Payta and Callao. On the afternoon of June 11th we arrived at the latter place just in time to take the last train for Lima. Scar[c]ely had the anchor reached the bottom, before the steamer was surrounded by boats which had come off to take the passengers ashore. Being broad shouldered, I soon pressed my way through the crowd and got ashore.

As I had been in Lima before, I knew where to go, and was soon enjoying the luxury of a bath, having seen my trunk safely conveyed to the 'hotel Maury.' The 'hotel Maury,' is decidedly the most comfortable one in Lima. That it is the most 'recherche,' it's prices are abundant proof. I had scarcely cosily installed myself in my snug parlor, before half a dozen American's called on me. I was at first, much gratified by this mark of cordiality, but a day or two quite did away with my first pleasurable feelings. I found that every one of them expected to borrow money from me. This was quite a joke, the idea of my having money to spare, being simply ridiculous.

I lounged about the town a couple of days, for the purpose of getting a little familiar with it, and then presented my letters. Mr Clay recieved me quite cordially, but seemed to be somewhat under the impression that I would take advantage of him if I could. I afterwards found out that he had so frequently been decieved by adventurers, that he began to look with suspicion on all his countrymen. I took tea with himself and family one evening, and then troubled him no more. I found on presenting my other letters, that the recipients though perfectly willing to extend to me the courtesies of social life, disliked to talk of business. I soon found that I had only myself to trust to, and could look for no assistance from any source whatever. As soon as I made my mind up to this, I packed my trunk and went to Callao, where my expenses were reduced by full one half. I went there also, because I determined at once to go to sea the first opportunity. My money had by this time dwindled down to \$200 dollars. I was a long way from home, and had no friends in the country. All my

anticipations were destroyed, and I thought it high time to do the only thing I knew how to do—go to sea. I made the attempt, and to my astonishment found that where there was one vessel to be commanded, there were a dozen persons applying for her. Things now really began to look a little black. Return home penniless, I would not, and what to do, I did not know. How forcibly that noble passage in *Troilus and Cressida* now struck me

In the reproof of chance

Lies the true proof of men. The sea being smooth,
 How many shallow bauble boats dare sail
 Upon her patient breast, making their way
 With those of nobler bulk?
 But let the ruffian Boreas once enrage
 The gentle Thetis, and, anon, behold
 The strong ribbed barque through liquid mountains cut,
 Bounding between the two moist elements
 Like Perseus horse; Where then the saucy boat,
 Whose weak, untimbered sides but even now
 Co-rivalled greatness? Either to harbor fled,
 Or made a toast to Neptune. Even so
 Doth valor show, and valor's worth divide,
 In storms of fortune.

I said to myself, 'now is the time to prove myself,' so I plucked up a spirit and went to work, or rather to look for work. I tried several days, but without success. At length, I one morning heard someone say 'the *Rodmond* has put back in distress.' Thinks I something may turn up here, so I kept quiet, and a good look out. It seems the *Rodmond* had caught a heavy gale off Cape Horn, and sprung a dangerous leak. She put back for Callao, being with great difficulty kept free. On arriving in port, it leaked out that the Captain—who was a very old man—intended to leave her. Immediately he was besieged with applications. I said not a word, but sported pretty conspicuously the only six or seven gold pieces I had. I saw the old man was suspicious of every one who applied to him, and would not promise any of them. In a day or two, his attention was directed to me. Very soon he offered me the vessel, and I *declined*. I saw the old fellow thought I could command a large sum of ready money. The next day, he came again, offering better conditions than before. I again demurred, and he then offered her to me on the same conditions he had sailed her himself. He could offer nothing more, so I accepted, much to the old man's delight. I afterwards discovered that very particular inquiries had [been] made about me in Lima, and as it cost nothing some

responsible man there spoke favorably of me, and I got the barque. It makes me laugh now to think how I got command of the vessel! how I *condescended* to accept it, when I would have torn all the hair out of my head, if I had lost her. After I was fully installed as Master, I told the old man, my circumstances. Telling him I had very little money. (He already knew I had never been master of a vessel) and offering to relieve him from all his engagements with me. To my astonishment he told me that he knew all along I had no money, but that he believed me to be honest, which was more than he could say for any of the other idlers in Callao. So we ratified the contract, put a few nominal repairs on the vessel, and on the 11th of August [July?] I went to sea. My mate whom I had shipped in Callao was sick in bed, but I thought it a merely temporary indisposition. The next morning we had a smart breeze and a chopping head sea. While sitting at breakfast we heard the rush of water. I knew it was the old leak brok out afresh, so I 'up helm.' and stook back from Callao. The breeze soon died away and I was four days getting back the distance I had run in one night. All this time my mate was getting sicker, and sicker, and I was soon reluctantly compelled to confess that he had a bad attack of yellow fever. I was cruelly perplexed, for I knew nothing of medicine. It would not do however to let him die without making an attempt to save him; so I got down a medical work, and followed the directions contained in it. But he continued getting worse, and to add to my embarrassment, in a fit of coughing ruptured a blood vessel. All attempts to stop the bleeding failed, and he began to sink rapidly. We did every thing in our power to save him, but without success. We got back to Callao about midnight on the 21st of July. Mr. Nichols (the Mate) was sinking rapidly. No boat was allowed to land after 10 P.M. and I therefore could not get a doctor off. While holding his head so that he could the easier empty the blood from his mouth, I noticed something that did not look like blood. A moment more, and the poor fellow was in all the agonies of the 'black vomit.' I saw he was dying, and strange as the confession may seem; the tears rolled down my face so as to almost blind me. Presently he straightened himself out—crossed his hands upon his breast and died without a struggle. I do not know when I have been more powerfully affected. He was just about my own age, and certainly had no more idea of dying than I had. Poor fellow! he came aboard with many anticipations of making a pleasant and a profitable voyage, but death came, and without warning hurried him off to those shades whose density mortal eyes may not penetrate. How terrible it is to die alone and friendless—afar off from those we love, and who love us—to have a stranger's

hand to close our eyes, and to trust a stranger's kindness to carry our last words. When I die, God grant it may be with the hand of a sister or brother clasped in mine, and with thier words of endearment sounding in my ear. More than once, death has stared me in the face, and my regret was 'I cannot say good bye to those I love.'

The next day I buried him—'Requiescat in pace.'

I now went to work in earnest to get my vessel ready for sea. I discharged part of the cargo, shipped another mate etc. etc., and was as busy as could be. At length on the 11th of August, I paid all my bills, cleared out the vessel, and started. To tell the truth I was a little doubtful of myself, but I felt it was no time to hesitate. I had never taken any responsible part in the navigation of a vessel, and now, to have, not only the navigation, but the sole charge of a ship put upon me, was well calculated to make me consider the event. Well! we sailed from Callao on the 11th of August, and went along for several days without any incident worth mentioning occurring. At length during some heavy weather, the mate ventured in the presence of the watch, to give me some gratuitous advice. I took him up very short; telling him that his advice would be asked for when wanted, and never again venture to tell me what was best to be done—particularly in the presence of the men. He was an old man, and had been to sea all his life, and I knew perfectly well that he looked upon me with rather a contemptuous eye, as one of the 'new school of sailors.' So I took advantage of the opportunity to let him and the men see that I was and intended to be captain, and if any of them knew any more than I did, they had better keep it to themselves. I thought it neccessary to take this course, because if the men once think the Captain is not the smartest man aboard the ship, they lose all respect for him, and there is an end to discipline. The old Mate got rather insolent; but the sight of a pair of hand cuffs soon brought him to his senses.

One day at sea is so much like another, that it would become tedious to go on with a regular 'log.' Suffice it to say that we had one hundred and eighteen days to Gibraltar, and sixteen more from thence to Genoa, at which place we arrived on the 28th of Dec. 1856. And now my dear Capt. you have a kind of account of me from the time I left home. I shall continue jotting down any little incident that may occur, and sending it to you from time to time. Give my love to all, and until you hear from me again 'Good bye

Truly Yr brother R. H. Gayle

After remaining in Genoa for several weeks, during which time Captain Gayle mixed business with pleasure as he waited for favorable weath-

er, he sailed for Trapani, Sicily, arriving there early in March 1857. On 5 March he wrote:

. . . I have been blown almost all over the Mediterranean. Four days ago I sited [*sic*] Trapani, but it was blowing so hard I could not get in, and that night I was blown off. Next day I worked up again and took a pilot. . . . Determined not to be again blown off, I ran under the lee to the island of Favignana (one of the Aegedean [*sic*] islands) and let go my anchors. And there for two days and nights the poor *Rodmond* laid with one hundred fathoms of chain out, and tugging at her anchors 'till I thought she would tear her bows out. During the lull, the pilot left us, and has not been seen since by me. . . . This morning the weather suddenly moderated, and I got into Trapani, where I am now securely moored. . . .

Gayle's stay in Trapani lasted throughout March, though the exact date of his departure is not recorded in his letters. On the twenty-seventh he wrote that he had 'finished loading yesterday' and was ready to sail for Boston 'only waiting for the wind to haul a little so I can get out of the harbor. . . . I think you can look for me about the last of May.'

For seventeen months, from March 1857, at Trapani, until 19 August 1858, 'At Sea,' the entries in Captain Gayle's journal, if indeed there were any, are missing. Three days before the latter date, however, he had left Boston, bound for Buenos Aires as a passenger on a vessel he failed to designate by name. Several days out the Captain—'a most ignorant dun-derhead, utterly incompetent for the discharge of his duties; and when away from the strait laced people of Cape Cod, can not to save his life resist the seductions of the bottle'—fell sick, the ship ran into the doldrums and then into storms and it was not until 1 November, after a 'dreary, tedious passage of Seventy five days,' that she docked in Buenos Aires:

I am as yet, of course, quite unsettled [Gayle wrote 5 November 1858], but hope in two or three days more to get my office to rights, and to commence a good profitable business. I have here now two vessels to my consignment, and four more on the way. Being an entire stranger in Buenos Ayres, I am compelled to employ a commission merchant at the start, and have been so fortunate as to find one who not only gives satisfaction, but who gives me much information. I have not heard anything (officially) about my appointment to the Monte Video Consulate. Pray let me know if you can, whether the Commission has been forwarded.

The desired position evidently materialized, for five months later, 22 April 1859, from Montevideo he notified Captain Gorgas, 'when you write, direct to me as "the American Consul," Monte Video, and send them *Pr* steamer "Via England." In spite of his efforts to describe the Catholic services of the Easter season and the results of the Paraguay Expedition, however, it must have been obvious that Gayle was longing for home:

If I could only make up my mind to positively remain here four or five years, I could do something [he wrote] . . . but then the very first time I get a little lonesome, I am sure to get homesick, and commence thinking of the most feasible plan of getting back to the dear old place, with every inch of which I have some happy association. I did think at one time that to be away from any influence that might at all control me, and to live the free, unrestrained life of a jolly bachelor, was all one could ask. Well! I have tried it to my heart's content, and my calm deliberate opinion is, that it is the meanest life in the world.

When Gayle returned to Alabama is not known, but in 1861-1862 he was, according to the best information available, independently running the blockade for the South and, on 22 July 1863, was appointed Lieutenant in the Confederate Navy by President Davis and assigned to the official blockade-runner *Cornubia*, at Bermuda. Early in 1864 he was raised in rank to First Lieutenant and, 6 December 1864, transferred to the new steamer *Stag*, at Wilmington, North Carolina. Slightly more than a month later (20 January 1865), on a return voyage from Bermuda with a cargo of arms and ammunition, he was captured off Wilmington by the U. S. S. *Osceola* and imprisoned in Fort Warren, near Boston.⁵

While in prison Gayle continued his diary, keeping minutely detailed reports of his life, his eternal hope for 'exchange,' and a record of the activities of his compatriots. On 24 March 1865 his name was 'up for exchange' and shortly after, as the conflict drew to an end, he was released.⁶

After the war Gayle operated a sawmill near Mobile, frequently visited General Josiah Gorgas who was then managing the Brierfield Iron Works near Ashby, Alabama,⁷ and in the late 1860's moved to New Orleans, where he married Miss Flora Levy. But his health, never good after his incarceration at Fort Warren, failed and in 1873 at the age of forty-one he died leaving no descendants.⁸

⁵ *War of the Rebellion Records: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1899), II, 8, 407, 427; *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, 1899), I, 9, 280-283; I, II, 621, 746; *Officers in the Confederate Navy, 1861-1865* (Washington, 1898), p. 47.

⁶ For the account of his capture and prison experience see Frank E. Vandiver, ed., 'Extracts from the Diary of Richard H. Gayle, Confederate States Navy,' *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, XXX (1948), 86-92.

⁷ Frank E. Vandiver, 'Josiah Gorgas and the Brierfield Iron Works,' *The Alabama Review*, III (1950), 5-21.

⁸ Gorgas, *op. cit.*, XXX (1949), 207.



Journal of the Ship Empress of China

EDITED BY WILLIAM BELL CLARK

Part IV

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Satterday 24 July a[t] 2 P M a Light Showr of Rain and
A fresh of wind from SSE – at 10 a[t] Night the Barge
Returned with the Gentelmen whome went yesterday
all of them Much Fatagued their Boate grounded
and they Could not Lanch her before the watter
Flowed³⁸ – a[t] 1 A M the tritons Boates Returned
and at day Light hoisted in our boates and gott
under way in Company with our Consort –
Severail Prowes Came on board Some haveing dutch
Coulours hoisted and a dutch on board with Severail
Javians in them – all haveing Something for Sail
but Sould Every thing much dearer that what
we purtchesed at Mew Island – the wind deyed
away oblided to Come to an anker with our streame
anker in 21 fa[tho]m – Java 4th point NEBN^o dist 3 Leagues
the Island of Thorthway NE $\frac{1}{2}$ E about 4 Leagues³⁹ Pulo
Condang NWBW 4 or 5 Lagues – Thermther 84^d

Sunday 25 Moderait at anker and a strong Current Setting
to the SW at y^e Rate of two Knots per hour the
wind from NE – a dutch and Swede with two french
Ships all at anker – a[t] day Light hove up the small
air of wind from SE – and a[t] Noone deyed away to a
Calm – Broke our Viall and oblided to gett a new one

³⁸ *Shaw's Journal*, pp. 157-160, gives a detailed account of the visit to the town of Serigny, concluding with the comment that they 'returned on board by eleven, not a little fatigued with the adventures of the day.'

³⁹ Thwart-the-way, an island in the middle and narrowest part of the strait, called by the Dutch, 'Dwars in den Weg.'

at Noone Came to with the Stream anker and furled
all our Sails – water 31 fa[tho]m – Island Thwartway NBW dist

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5 Leagues – the Cap $NE\frac{1}{2}N^{\circ}$ – 4 Leagues and the Button
NBE $\frac{1}{2}E$ 7 or 8 Leagues⁴⁰ – the 4 point of Java SBE $\frac{1}{2}E$
4 miles dist – Sultrey weather Thermomather 85^d

Monday July 26th – a[t] 2 P M two prows Came on board and
had a white man in Eatch of them a Dutch man at Same
time the dutch Prow wore a flagg of holland had for
Sail Powltreys and Vegetibles all of which the[y] Sould high
The[y] Informed us we ware the first Ships that Came
through the Straights this year for China – a[t] 5 P M
a Small Breeze a[t] SE gott under way and at 9 the
wind deyd away Came two with the Stream anker
in 35 fa[tho]m the weather Sultrey – Thermomather 86^d –

Tuesday 27th – all this 24 hours at anker the Current Sitts
Strong for 14 hours to y^e S W and Runs a[t] 2 & 2 and $\frac{1}{2}$ knots
per hour – the Current which Run to y^e NE dont Run Near
So fast the Moon is ten days ould this day perhaps the Curr^t
Run Stronger in the Increase of the moon than when She
Is on the decline – and I have observed Sinse my Comeing
Round the Cape of good hope the the [sic!] Winds Increase on the
moon^s Increase – Thermomather 83^d–86^d – Winds Mostley NE

Wednesday 28 – the winds mostley a[t] NE – a[t] 5 P M a Small breeze,
Comeing of[f] the Land hove up and Sailed about 2 or 3
Miles the wind deyd away – Lett go our Stream anker
in 33 fa[tho]m watter – people Employed Variousley Latt obs^d 6^d08^mS
Thermomather 85 degrees – N B Opned 2 Quiles[coils] of Cordage of
the
Cargo for Ships Euse N^o 1 – N^o 3 –

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Thursday July 29 – Light winds and Calms for the fore &
middle part a[t] 5 A M Sent M^r Hodgkinson on board
a Sweedship which Lay in Angir Roade to gett
Some Neus and purtchess Some tay and Sugar for

⁴⁰ Button Island, lying east of Thwart-the-way, and near the eastern entrance of the strait.

presant Euse -⁴¹ - a[t] 6 A M a Light Breeze Sprang
up from SE gott under way in Company with the
Ship Triton a dutch Ship from holland bound
to Bittavia and a french Ship Fabius - a[t] 8 Captⁿ
Hodgkinson Returned Informed that the Sweed
Ships Company was Verey Sickley - She bureyed
Number of her hands in Bittavia the Commander
Name Closs Brailholts Ship^s Name Concordia
Bound to holland - a[t] 11 A M the wind flatt
Calm and we ware Close in with Button Island
out Jolly boate and pulled the Ships head
of[f] the Shore a[t] Same time the triton whome
was to y^e NE and Near the Island Javia had
a fresh wind of[f] the Land which Carreyed her
fast to y^e NE whilst we Lay becalmed a[t] Noone
the wind Came to y^e NE in Boate and pressed sail
to Windered - N B out Sailed the dutch
Ship very much - Thermomather 85^d -

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Friday July 30th - Light winds Inclineing to Calm Lett Pieter
Richards out of Confinment Soundings from 48 a 35
Fa[tho]m a[t] 4 P M Calm Came two with our Streame
anker in 35 fa[tho]m the Button Island SEBS, 3 Leagues
Ship Triton NEBN^o 6 or 7 Leagues a Strong Current
Setting to the SW a[t] 2½ Knotts - a[t] 9 P M a fresh Breeze
from NW attended with hard Rain hove Short to gett
under way but when the anker a pecke fell Calm - a[t]
4 A M a pleasant breeze from WNW hove up Sett all
Sail - the wind Varies - Sott Steeringsails - a[t] Noone North
Island SWBW - Point S^t Nicholas on Bantom Point SBE
dist of the Sumatra Shore 8 or Nine Miles - Whin North
Island bore NW had 14 & 15 fa[tho]m watter Thermomather 84^d

Satterday 31^d - pleasant Breeze and Clear weather winds SSE
a[t] 4 P M Saw the 2 sisters bearing NNE 7 or 8 Leagues the
Ship triton NEBN 6 or 7 miles a[t] anker Soundings 13 a 14-15
fa[tho]m Mudey Bottom a[t] 6 P M the Sisters NE½E - about 5 or
6 miles - a[t] 8 Ankered about a mile to the Southered of the

⁴¹ Anjer road, the easternmost bay on the south shore of the strait, its eastern boundary being Bantam, or St. Nicholas point.

Triton the two Sisters NBW dist 5 or 6 miles – a[t] 5 A M
 gott under way a[t] 8 A M the Northermost of the Sisters WBS
 the Southermost SWBW about 3 Leagues – the Soundings Verey
 Regular 11 a[nd] 13 fa[tho]m – a[t] 11 the winds Veeres to the Eastward
 tooke in Steeringsails a[t] Noone the Sisters SBW 6 or 7 Leagues
 Latt a[t] Noone 4^d57^mS^o – Thermomather 84^d

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Sunday August 1^d–1784 Commences Light winds and Sultrey a[t]
 3 P M Sent the Jolley boate on board the triton with my
 Second Captⁿ and M^r Randal to make my Complements
 and thank him for His attentision in waighting for me.
 the wind deyed away – Came to with Stream anker – we find
 in all these plases a Current Setting to the SW – thought it
 Changes and Setts to the NE – Nine – 10 – 11 – 12 fa[tho]m – a
 at 11 P M hove up gott under way Steered NE – winds ENE
 pleasant moone Light – a[t] day Light Braught all our guns
 from forward auft to bring the Ship by the Stern and
 at 9 Sent Everey thing forward to find the trim of the
 Ship – but the Ship Sails best at 2 feet 6 Inchs diffrence
 by the Stern – Removed Everey thing from forwards to aft
 a[t] Noone in Latt 4^d08^mS^o Thermomather 84^d

Monday August 2^d 1784 – Steadey wind from SEBE Course
 NE½N^o – 11 and 12 fa[tho]m watter – the ship triton about 4 Miles a
 head She maid Signal for Comeing two – a[t] 7 P M Came to with
 the Stream anker in Nine fa[tho]m – hands all Sails – a[t] 5 A M
 Hove up and maid Sail the winds ESE – a[t] ½ past 7 Saw some
 Brakers and Small Rocks to the ESE – about 2 Miles on a bank
 which Lay of[f] the S^o part of Billaton⁴² – a[t] 8 Saw a Small Island
 bearing ENE 2 Leagues – a[t] Nine Saw more Islands bearing N^o &
 NNE – a[t] 10 Saw Land NNW – our Soundings 9–10– 11 – 13–14 fa[th-
 o]m^s

a[t] Noone obs^d Latt 3^d08^m S^o – the triton maid Signal for Comeing
 to we braught two and Lett go a bowr anker in Nine fa[tho]m
 the Islands NEBN – the Land WBN^o – Thermomather 86^d – two of
 our Men Sick –⁴³

⁴² The island of Belitong, midway between Sumatra and Borneo, and approximately in 3° South latitude and 108° East longitude. The Two Sisters islands lie just south of Belitong.

⁴³ Shaw's Journal, p. 160: 'On our concluding to sail in company with the Triton, M. d'Ordelin acquainted us that he intended not to go the common route, through the Straits of Banca, but to

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Tuesday August 3^d 1784 – a fresh Breeze of wind went on board the triton in Company with M^r Shaw and offered my Servis in getting under way in the Morning a[t] 5 oClock, and Stretching to to NE – where I maid no dought but the pasage Lay and from the appearance of his Draughts and that of M^r Gaspars I was almost Sure we Lay at anker of[f] the South point of Sall Island that the Point of Land which Bore NNE Must be the Entrance of the Pasage the Land we Saw to the Westard must be Banka SE point – and the Islands to the NEBN lay of[f] Billaton M^r De ORdelland agreed that he thought as I did but the depth of watter which their Lead gave was at times 4 and 5 fa[tho]m – and he was sure from what Mr. Gaspar had Informed him of the Pasage this was not the Plase – I had no Such Soundings as he mentisioned and I was sure their must be Some mistake – however he hoisted out boath his Small Boates the Largest he Sent to the NNE to Vew the opning which Lay about 5 Leagues from us – he promised he would Send his Second Captⁿ with me in the morning to Recknoiter the land and find out the Pasage in the Ship, – and he would gett under way and follow at 2 Miles dist – when he Requested that when I thought I had the Pasage in Sight and deepened our watter to 13 fa[tho]m that I would Hoist a White flagg at the main-Topgallentmast head and Keep it their but Should we find Less watter than at Presant *which was unlikely we Should* that I should hoist a Blew flagg and hawl down the white –

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at 5 A M we gott under way his offisur and a young gentelman a Vollanteer Came on board – we Steered to the NE the wind SE – and when we opned the N^o point of Sall to beare NNW had 13–14–15–17 fa[tho]m and in Runing from the plase where the Ship ankered to this spott had 9 – and for 3 minuets 8 fa[tho]m but there is a Shole Lays off y^e South point of Sall and we was Crosing that Shole to the East when we had

attempt one more to the eastward, between Banca and Biliton. He was informed of this passage by a French gentleman, M. Gaspar, who, in a Spanish vessel, made it with the utmost safety in going to and returning from China, having from twelve to twenty-five fathoms soundings. Accordingly, having come to sail, on Sunday, July 25th, we proceeded as fast as the winds and currents would allow, till the 2d of August, when the two ships came to anchor, and the *Triton* sent out her boat to explore the passage.

that depth – but when the South point bore NWBW deepened Immedetley – this pasage is about 2 Leagues wide there is Some Rocks which Lay above watter and Reefs to the Easterd of Sall about one mile off[f] the Shore but you Can See Every thing that will hurt you, Ceep the Sall Side in 16 fa[tho]m and theres no fear then the depth of watter whin you bring the S^o point to beare west Will be to the Easterd of you – there are two Islands which Lay to the East Side have Verey high Rocks all allong the Shore and appeare Like howses we gave those Islands the Name of Congress Islands and when you Come up with the N^o End of them there is a Reeffe Roning of[f] about 2 miles to y^e N^o – between Thay Sall and the East Point of Banka Lay Some Islands but the[y] Lay to the West of Thay Sall – when you discover the Island of Gasper It makes high and in fine day Can be Seen 8 or Nine Leagues the East End of banka appear high Like an Island but as we advanced to the N^o observed the Lowland between Joined– in the pasage and about 3 Leagues SWBS from y^e N^o End of Isle Gaspar we Saw a Rock at first Sight from y^e mast head appearing Like a Sail and tooke it for Such for a long time but as we aproched It Saw a high tree on the top and one on the Lower part which was all that grew there – the whole a Rock in form

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of a Sugar lofe when you approatch within 2 Leagues you See a Small Rock about as Large as a Ships long boate and dist of the Large Rock 50 or 100 yards – We gave this Island the Name of Parkers Island – Latt obs^d 2^d 30^m S^o – Thermomather 85^d

Wednesday August 4–1784 when to SSW of Gaspar and steering for to find ankering ground where we might Bring to and Send on Shore to Examin for fresh watter in Case we Should want on our Return from China – a[t] $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 Close in with the Land there is a Rock which Lay west of the N^o End of Gaspars you may Run out side or to the west of it in 17 fa[tho]m then you are $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile off Sandey bottom but we discovered a Reeffe and Shole watter from the East Side of this Rock Extending to a Reef which almost which Run from y^e main Island to the westerd – theres no pasage between the Rock and Island which Lay dist 2 miles of Each outhur Sent y^e yawl on Shore to Reckoneter M^r Shaw Randal Docktor Johnston and Mackever went in her – a[t] 3 Came two in 17 fa[tho]m

Large Brown Sand – Gaspar Island SEBE 3 Miles – the Rock which Lay to the west, M^r Shaw Named Smasham Rock from the Great Quantetey of Bords Eggs the[y] Brock whilst the[y] ware on it – bore SBE one mile & a half dist – the Boate Returned at Sun Sett but found no watter – or if their was watter its a bad Roade to Stop in when the Westerley monsoons Blow –⁴⁴ a[t] 5 got under way – Steered NBW and Run Dist 4 Leagues off[f] when we

discovered Some Rocks & Brakers bearing NNE 3 miles – at Noone in Latt 1^d40^mS – Maid Course from the ankering Plase NNW dist 45^m Thermomather 85 – the watter Smouth & the weather Plesant Winds SE – Steeringsails Sett a Low & a Loft – got out 3 topsail yard

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Thursday August 5–1784 Fresh Breezes all Sail Sott at day at Knight Shortned Sail, our Consort at distance of 1 mile a Stern people all Employed – Some Makeing Spun yarn outhers Clensing their Berths and the Remainder overhawling the Riging – the winds SE and SSE – Course Steered this 24 hours NBW $\frac{3}{4}$ W – dist 160^m – depart 54^mW Latt obs^d 00–49^mN^o Thermomather 85^d –

Friday 6– Clear weather untill 11 a[t] Knight when It began to thunder Lightnen and Rain hard for $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour – the fore part of the day and Latter, the winds a[t] SSE – the middle a[t] WSW – Course steered untill we Saw Pulo Oar which was at 10 A M NWBW dist 73^m – then we ware about 8 or 9 Leagues dist from the

⁴⁴ *Shaw's Journal*, p. 161: 'On visiting M. d'Ordelin, he informed Captain Green and me that his coming to so early was owing to an apprehension either that the land we saw could not be that through which the passage was found, or that his information respecting it must have been wrong, as, on sounding, he found only five and a half, where he expected twelve fathoms. His charts seeming to confirm the latter opinion, he sent out an officer in a boat to make further discovery,—and we agreed, that, if the wind should not permit the boat to return during the night, we could, in our ship, taking one or two of his officers with us, stand in toward the shore at daylight, under easy sail, and make him signal. He gave us one of his charts, and the next morning, when M. Cordeaz with another officer came on board, we had the satisfaction to learn that their boat had just returned, after finding the passage, with the soundings as marked in the chart; and that the apprehension they had been under arose from a mistake of the man who gave the soundings at noon, in calling the *eleven* mark *five*. Making sail, at five o'clock in the morning, we led the way through the straits, having regular soundings, and came to anchor at three o'clock, P.M., the body of Gaspar isle bearing from our ship S.E. by E. two miles distant. Mr. McCaver, Mr. Randall, the surgeon, and I, went on shore. On the rock off Gaspar we found many eggs and young birds. There is only a boat-passage between it and Gaspar, and on the other side of the island there are shoals which render it imprudent to go nearer than we did. We had not time to ascertain whether there was water on the island, but, from its verdure, the croaking of frogs, and the flocks of white pigeons, that article is no doubt to be found there.' Sall and Gaspar islands lie between Belitong and Banca, a long and large island which runs parallel with the Sumatra shore for almost 200 miles.

Land – after makeing the Island [of] Pulo Oar – we steered NNW until Noone and Run dist 16 miles per Logg a[t] Noone the Island Bore NWBW $\frac{1}{2}$ N^o dist 4 or 5 Leagues – Course maid good from Gaspar to Pulo Ore NNW $\frac{1}{2}$ W dist 297 miles whin the South part of the Island bore NW dist 3 Leagues – our Loggline marked 47 feet and the glass 28 Seconds – Latt obs^d 2^d07^mN – Latt Thermomather 85^d – painting our long boate and overhawling Riging

Satterday August 7th – Commenses with Some Rain a[t] 6 P M Pulo Timon Bore WBN dist 6 or 7 Leagues Light winds & Pleasant weather the winds SSE – all Sail Sott the watter Remarkable Smouth not a fowl or fish to be Seen but when of[f] Pulo Pisang much fish Spawn and Scum on the Surfes of the watter – Steering to the NBE – Pulo Tangy SWBW 7 Leagues⁴⁵ – Steered from the Bearings of Pulo Timons S^o End^s bearing WBN^o 7 Leagues to Noone NBE $\frac{1}{2}$ E Run dist 87^m per the Logg – Latt obs^d in a[t] Noone 4^d33^mN^o – Thermomather 84^d the Next Land to Run for is the 2 brouthers⁴⁶

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Sunday August 8 1784 – Pleasant Weather and Smouth watter the winds SBW and SWBS – Steered all this 24 hours N NBE and Run dist 126^m per Logg a[t] Noone Sounded in 29 fa[tho]m Watter mudey Bottom all Sail Sott a low and a loft Latt obs^d 6^d51^mN^o – Thermomather 85^d – Thrifton in Company

Monday August 9–1784 Pleasant weather the winds for the Fore and Middle part SSE – the Latter part a[t] SW and Some Squales and Light Rain Smouth watter and Maney Say fowl after small fish Hovereing Near the Ship Course Steered untill mid a[t] Midnight Sounded in 20 fa[tho]m a[t] $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 A M Sounded in 19 fa[tho]m – a[t] 9 A M Saw the 2 Brouthers Bearing NEBN 6 or 7 Leagues – hawled the Ship to the NEBE and Run Untill Noone when the Brouthers bore NBW – dist 3 Leagues a[t] Same time Saw Pulo Condore ENE dist 7 or 8 Leagues – Latt obs^d 8^d25^m Thermomather 84^d– N B the Course Maid from our

⁴⁵ Pula Aor, Pula Timon, Pula Pisang and Pula Tinggi are small islands in 3° and 3° 30' North latitude, and in approximately 104° East longitude. They are off the Malayan coast northeast of Singapore.

⁴⁶ The Two Brother islands lie six degrees further north of Pula Timon, and two degrees further east, off the coast of Cochin China.

Departure of Pulo Timon to makeing the Brouthers is
NBE $\frac{1}{2}$ E dist 292 miles per Logg – and from our first Seeing
them untill they Bore NBW we Run dist 16 miles NE $\frac{1}{2}$ E –
Steering for the Pulo Sappato –⁴⁷

Tuesday 10th – Commenses Moderait and Continues pleasant
all this 24 hours Winds SSW and SWBW – a[t] 6 P M
the W End of Pulo Condore WNW 5 Leagues the bodey of the land
NW dist 3 Leagues – all Sail Sott a Steering for Pulo Sapatto – Run
dist from the above bearings 70^m NEBE $\frac{1}{2}$ E Course – Latt Obs^d 9^d04^mN^o
Thermomather 84^d – Say Smouth and winds Light –

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Wednesday 11th of August Moderait and pleasant the winds
From WSW to SW – Course Steered from Noone untill 12
at Knight NEBE and Run dist 53 miles – a[t] midnight
tooke in all our Small Sails and hawled the Ship
By the wind under her 3 topsails to the SSE – untill
2 A M and Run dist 4 miles – a[t] 2 hove to the fortopsail
to the mast and a[t] 3 A M Saw Pulo Sepatto bearing
NEBN 2 or three Leagues – maid Signal to the Triton for
Seeing the Land – a[t] 5 A M Bore away to the Eastward
Saw two Small Rocks to the NW of Pulo Sepatta about 3 miles
dist Sounded in 75 fa[tho]m before we Saw the Land but got
no ground – our Course maid from the departure of Pulo
Condore untill Pulo Sepatta boare N^o 2 Leagues – ENE dist
45 Leagues – Latt obs^d a[t] Noone 10^d07^mN – Thermomather 85^d a[t]
10 A M Pulo Sepatto bore WSW 7 or 8 Leagues dist – a Steering
for the M^cElsfield Shole⁴⁸ – find a Curr Run dist from 10 untill
Noone 10 miles NE by the Composs – Current Setting to the NW

Thursday August 12–1784 fine weather Smouth watter and
a Crowd of Sail a Low and a Loft – Course Steered all this
24 hours NE $\frac{1}{2}$ N^o – dist 136^m – diff Latt 135 depart Latt obs^d
12^d22^mN^o – Winds SW – Thermomather 85^d –

Friday August 13 – pleasant weather and Smouth Say all Sail
Sott a Low and Loft – Winds from SW and SSE Course maid

⁴⁷ Pula Condore is slightly north of east from the Two Brothers, and Pula Sapata is to the northeast in 10° North latitude, and 109° East longitude.

⁴⁸ Macclesfield bank, or shoal, lying east by south of the Paracel islands, is in 15° 50' North latitude.

good NE $\frac{1}{2}$ N^o – dist per Logg 123^m – all hands Employed – Latt
obs^d 14^d01^mN^o Thermomather 84^d

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Satterday August 14 Pleasant weather and Steadey breeze
all Sail Sott a Low and a Loft Winds from SW – Steering
to the NE untill 9 A M whin the triton hove to Sounded and
gott no ground he then hawled up EBN – Latt a[t] Noone 15^d45^mN^o
Course maid good this 24 hours NE $\frac{1}{2}$ E – dist 153^m – D Latt 104^m
Latt obs^d 15^d45^mN^o – Thermomather 86^d – Sounded a[t] Noone in 90
fa[tho]m no
ground and Immadgen we must be to the Easterd of M^cElsfield
Shole – Lost our Line & Lead the Line being Rotton –

Sunday 15 – Pleasant Breeze and Smouth Sea Winds
SW and SSW – Steered from Noone untill 5 P M E $\frac{1}{2}$ S
Dist 26 miles and from 5 until Midday N^o – dist 91^m
Sounded but got no ground – all Sail Sott fore and aft
Latt obs^d 17^d06^m – Thermomather 84^d

Monday 16 – fresh Breeze of wind from SW – all Sail
Sott – Course Maid good NWBN^o – dist 98^m – people all
Employed – the Say Smouth and the weather pleasant
Variatision per Amplitude Sun Riseing 2^d30^m West
Latt obs^d 18^d19^mN^o

Thermomether 86^d –

Tusday 17 – Light winds and Sultrey all Sail Sott
Low and Loft Winds from SSW – the triton a[t] Noone
about 4 miles a head Course Maid NW dist 75^m
Latt obs^d 19^d28^m Thermomther 85^d all hands Employed
OCatisionley observe our Roucher [rudder] work Veray much in the
Irons –

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Wednesday 18 – Light winds and Variable from SE to
SW – a[t] 6 A M y^e triton a Long way a head Shee hove two
for us to Come up – and a[t] 9 She Maid Sail – three min
in the dockters List – two of them Lamed the 3^d a Light
Favour – Course maid good NW $\frac{1}{2}$ N^o – dist 70^m – Latt 20^d36^m
Thermomether 86^d in the Sun y^e Thermomether Rose 130^d –

Thursday 19 – the fore part Moderait and pleasant a[t] 2 Sounded in 45 fa[tho]m Course Shells and Sand – a[t] 4 the triton Sent her boate and an offisur on board to observe our Possision on the Chart hers per act was a[t] Noone 15 miles to y^e West of the Grand Laderroone – ours 13 Leagues Stood in for the Land the [Course] NEBE and Light – a[t] 5 our Supercargoes Intimated they had Some Buisness with the Supercargoes of the triton Lowered down our Golly boate and Sent the first Mate on board to attend them a[t] 6 they Returned Saw the Land bearing NNW which we took for Hay Tin Cham – about 12 Leagues dist – a[t] 10 a[t] Knight tacked and Stood to the SE untill 4 A M – tacked and Stood to the NNW Close by the wind a[t] day Light Maid the Land, of *Hai Tin Cham*, *Chinsham Falso*, and *St Johns* Stood in and at 10 Saw Some boates Stretching of[f] we tacked to the SEBE – Latt obs^d a[t] Noon 21^d15^m – Thermomther 85^d – N B our Cours from Sepatto to M^cElsfield Shole [blank] dist – [blank] and from that part to Makeing the land [blank]⁴⁹

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Friday August 20–1784 fresh Breeze of wind from ENE and NEBE – a[t] 6 P M the Island of Sencham Falso Bore N^o dist 10 Leagues – R M £ a Beating to the windard – hands Topgallentsails – a[t] Noone the Island St Johns bore N^oNE 7 or 8 Leagues – Latt 21^d24^mN^o – Thermomather 84^d –

Satterday 21^d – Fresh Breezes and dark Clowdey weather the Island of St Johns NNE – Extreames of the Land WNW at 6 P M Sounded in 21 fa[tho]m we ware then of[f] the High Hill on St Sencham falso it bearing N^o – dist 5 Leagues – this Hill Makes on the West End and appears in a Saddell at top – the winds all this 24 hours NEBN to the ENE Mostley a Standing to the SE under Single R £ Some heavey Squals and hard Rains – a[t] Noone overhawled our watter in the hould and find about one thousand Gallons on board

⁴⁹ Great Ladrone island, directly fronting the Canton river, was generally used as a landfall by vessels bound to Macao from the southward during the South West monsoons, from April to August, inclusive. The Chinese-owned islands of Hai-chwen, Chang Chwen (St. Johns) and Chinsam Falso (Mandarin's Cap) lie off the South China coast in 22° North latitude, and 112° 30' East longitude.

3 Min in the dockters List – Latt obs^d 20^d 42^m N^o
 Thermomather 80^d a[nd] 82 – the Skey much troubled
 With Sharp Lightning to the NE –

Sunday 22^d – all this 24 hours Heavey Squals hard Rains
 and Short Cross Say Mostley Beating to the NE as the winds
 would best answer – a[t] 5 P M thought we Saw the looming
 of the Land – Sounded ground 32 fa[tho]m – Coft [soft] mud – a[t]
 4 A M Sounded in 36 fa[tho]m mudey bottom – 2 men Sick
 No Observasion – Grand Laderroone per at NNE 13 Leagues –

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Monday August 23^d – the Fore part fresh breezes and a
 Tumbling Swell from the NE – in Companey with Ship
 Triton the first part this day winds SSE and Some
 Rain Steering to the NE – at 9 P M the wind ESE a
 Steering to SW until Midnight Steered to the NE at 6
 A M Stood to the NWBN^o – Maid all Sail and at 9 A M
 the Grand Laderroon bore NBE dist 3 or 4 Leagues at
 Same time the Islands to Luward which we tooke for S^t
 Johns NWBW 7 or 8 Leagues and the Islands we Saw to
 Windred of the G Ladroon ENE 4 or 5 Leagues dist –
 at ½ past ten gott a fisherman whome Came on board
 to Carrey us to Mackaw Road for ten dollars – all agreed
 but the Fisherman asked 25 on Comeing on board –
 a[t] Noone Grand Laderoon EBN^o – 4 or 5 miles Cleard Ankers for
 Comeing two –

Tuesday August 24–1784 a[t] 4 PM Light winds from Easterd
 Came two anker with our Best bour anker in M^cCaw Roade
 in 5 fa[tho]m the Town of M^cCaw bearing WNW 3 Miles Salluted
 the town with 7 Guns – which was Returned by the Fort
 M^r S Shaw our Suppercargo accompaneyed by M^r Swift
 Purser had the honour of hoisting the first Continentol
 Flagg Ever Seen or maid Euse of in those Seas – Hoist out
 our Pinase and accompaineyed by mess^{rs} Shaw & Randall
 waighted on M^r Deordeland our worthey *Comadore* to Return
 that good man our thanks for His polite attentision to us
 through the China Seas a[t] 6 oClock Returned our polit [pilot] paid
 and Left us – M^r Deordeland promising to Send for a

Canton polite for takeing us to Wampo⁵⁰ – at 4 A M Severall of the Greatest Quantiteys of Chinees boates I Ever beheld ware out a fishing at 5 a Chinees boate Came on board tooke down the Ships Name Masters Name Quantitey of men & Guns on board where from & of what Natision – then Left us –

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Soone after Came Severail boates with Eggs–Sugar–Bread frute and Shues with Sundrey outhar artickles for Sail – at 8 oClock aboate Came allong Side with Severail Gentilmen ammongst the Number was a good and an agreeable acquaintance whome I new in France in 1780 we Lived to geather for 6 weekes this Is M^r William Chalmers of Gottonbourg now one 3^d of the Sweedish Consol and Supercargo – Last Evning he hard of the pilot my Name and he was unhapey untill he Came to See me in this Cuntrey and Render me Everey Sivilatey He Braught Mess^{rs} Sibear^s 2 french Gentelm the Elder I had the honour to See in Nantes Some years back – he also Braught M^r Vielard the French Consall all to welcome and offer their Servis – the[y] Stayed [for] Breckfast – I Entrodused my Supercargoes to the Friendship of my good Friends Chalmers & Sibear – the[y] pressed me much to go on shore but as I had a prior Engadgment to dine begged Excuse – M^r Shaw accompaneyed them we gave them three Cheers at parting and Salluted with 7 guns – I promised to attend them on Shore after dinner⁵¹ about 10 M^r George Son of M^r Pawl George of Lisborn accompaneyed with a portagees gentilman Came also on board to offer me their Sivilateys and Requested my Companey on Shore. those Gentilmen not Likeing the lookes of the weather which began to Looke for more wind Left us & offered us their Servis – a[t] Noone hard Rain & Strong wind from ENE –

⁵⁰ The entire voyage from Gaspar to Macao is covered in *Shaw's Journal*, p. 162, with a single paragraph: 'Leaving Gaspar Island on the morning of the 4th of August, the two ships proceeded in company; and having, on the 23d, in the forenoon, got pilots from Macao, they anchored in the roads at 4 P.M., and saluted the town.'

⁵¹ *Shaw's Journal*, p. 162: 'On the 24th, in the morning, the French consul, with several gentlemen from Macao visited us, and, on leaving the ship, were saluted with nine guns. These gentlemen having invited me to pass the day with them at Macao, I accompanied them in their boat.'

(To be continued)



Notes

THE BROAD PENDANT

In a rare edition of 'Navy Regs': *Rules, Regulations, and Instructions For The Naval Service Of The United States*. . . (Washington City: E. De Krafft, 1818) there appears an interesting regulation on the use of the commodore's broad pendant. Although pictorial evidence shows that the pendant had been used by our navy continuously since 1802, this regulation seemingly is its first official recognition. The text is as follows.

'RELATIVE TO THE BROAD PENDANT

1. There shall be three distinct orders of broad pendants.

2. The broad pendant of the first order shall be blue with white stars—that of the second order, shall be red with white stars—that of the third order, shall be white with blue stars.

3. The senior officer afloat shall always be entitled to wear the pendant of the first order; and all officers entitled to a broad pendant shall, when not in presence, or in sight of a superior officer also entitled to a pendant, wear the pendant of the first order.

4. Officers entitled to broad pendants shall, on meeting at sea, when in company, or in sight of each other, or when serving together, wear the pendants of the order, that shall correspond with their relative rank as officers.

5. No officer shall wear a broad pendant, of any kind, unless he shall have been appointed to command a squadron of vessels on separate service.'

This was promulgated to the service on 17 September 1817. Even so, the rank of commodore itself had not been and would not be actually established for almost half a century, 16 July 1862 to be

exact. The title was purely one of courtesy extended to any officer in command of a squadron.

At the outset in our service the design of the broad pendant was a blue swallow-tail bearing one white star for each State in a circular arrangement. The regulation quote above brought in the pendants in the three combinations and as the number of states increased the stars were given a *seme* arrangement. Over the years the regulations have been changed in certain minor technicalities but the three orders remained down to 1869. When by 1866 the ranks of admiral, vice-admiral and rear admiral had been created, the commodore's broad pendants were altered to bring them into conformity with the flags of the higher ranks: then they became a blue, red, or white swallow-tail bearing a single star, white, white, or blue respectively. Then, too, the shape was changed somewhat, although that was hardly noticeable when the flag was at the mast head. The lower edge of the flag was cut at right angles to the hoist, but the top edge sloped to nine-tenths the hoist length. Navy Regulations of 1854 fixed the size of the pendants for ships of the line at 13 feet hoist by 25 feet fly and for frigates at 11½ feet and 22 feet respectively, the swallow-tail being four-tenths the length of the fly. The broad pendant was always worn at the main mast head, except when more than one commodore was present. Then the juniors wore their flags at the fore.

In 1869 the broad pendant was completely redesigned (along with the flags of the admirals). The result was something horrible: a swallow-tail with the shortened upper point of seven red and six white stripes. This desecration of our seascapes lasted only until 1876 when the broad pendant reverted to the three orders: blue with white star, red with white star and white with blue star. These re-

mained in use until 3 March 1899 when by Act of Congress commodore as an active duty rank was abolished.

This brought to an end the use of the broad pendant by our navy. True during the recent war commodore was re-established as an active duty rank with the right to fly a blue rectangle bearing a single white star, but this is a flag, not a broad pendant.

M. V. BREWINGTON

NOTES ON THE ACTION BETWEEN *Hornet* AND *Peacock*

JOSHUA Keene, Purser's Steward of H. M. S. *Peacock*, had a little notebook in which he kept a list of the crew and tables showing rates of pay and allowance of victuals. When he reached New York as a prisoner after his ship had been sunk by the U. S. S. *Hornet* on 24 February 1813, he filled the blank pages with newspaper clippings and notes about the battle and its aftermath. The little notebook is now preserved in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, and its notes are of interest as contemporary comment on a famous naval action; naturally the comments, from a British point of view, attempt to make the best of a bad job. In a few places they may serve to supplement the usually received account. Keene's meticulously careful record of the relief which he and his shipmates received indicates a chivalrous and even friendly feeling toward the enemy which was noticeable in New York at the time. Quotation is made by the kind permission of the Huntington Library authorities.

The first clipping is from the New York *Commercial Advertiser* of Tuesday, 30 March 1813. This is the letter of 19 March from Captain James Lawrence to the Hon. William Jones, Secretary of the Navy, telling of the 145-day cruise of *Hornet* and particularly of her engagement with *Peacock*. Below are the pertinent passages of the printed letter, followed by the marginal comments of Joshua Keene on those points which he

considered misstated or especially important.

Captain Lawrence described his operations in shoal water off Demerara on 24 February; *Peacock* came in sight at 3:30 P.M. and at 4:20 hoisted British colors and was identified as 'a large man of war brig.' The Americans beat to quarters and cleared for action, Lawrence keeping close to the wind so as to get the weather gage. At 5:10 Lawrence found he could weather the enemy; he hoisted American colors and tacked.

Lawrence: At 5.25 mts. in passing each other exchanged broadsides within half pistol shot. Observing the enemy in the act of wearing, I bore up, received his starboard broadside, ran him close on board on the starboard quarter, and kept up such a heavy and well directed fire, that in less than 15 minutes she surrendered, (being literally cut to pieces) and hoisted an *ensign, union down*, from his fore-rigging, as a signal of distress. Shortly after his main mast went by the board.

Keene: The engagement commenced at 15 minutes before 5 o'clock & continued very obstinate above 40 minutes. Her [*Peacock's*] Rudder was injured early in the Action & before she struck her main Mast was over the Side & 6 feet water in the hold.

Captain Lawrence sent Lieutenant Shubrick on board the prize, and he soon returned with her first lieutenant, F. A. Wright, and the intelligence that she was 'his Britannic Majesty's late brig *Peacock*, commanded by Capt. Wm. Peake, who fell in the latter part of the action. . . .'

Keene: Capt'n. Peake was twice wounded before he fell a Victim to death by a doubleheaded Shot which struck on the left breast and deprived the brave crew of a noble minded and courageous Commander.

Lawrence: Dispatched the boats immediately for the wounded, and brought both vessels to anchor.

Keene: Capt'n. Lawrence did not send his boats to the assistance of the vanquished for 35 minutes after striking.

Peacock's guns were thrown overboard, the visible shot holes were plugged, and the pumps manned, but all efforts to save the ship were useless.

Lawrence: . . . she unfortunately sank in five and a half fathoms water, carrying down 13 of

her crew, and three of my brave fellows, viz. *John Hart, Joseph Williams, and Hanibal Boyd*. . . . Four men, of the 13 mentioned, were so fortunate as to gain the fore top [which remained above water], and were afterward taken off by the boats.

Keene: Four of the Crew only were drowned, and of three of the *Hornet's* Crew, two were much intoxicated & the third (the Captain's Cook) swam from the Brig towards the boat, with his hands full of Plate, with which he sank & was never seen to rise.

Captain Lawrence speaks of the four men from *Peacock* who escaped in her stern boat; he hoped they had reached land safely but was afraid they had not. Keene lists them (James Ekin, James Kett, Joshua Medcalf, and James Ralston) in his register of *Peacock's* complement of 127 and says that they 'were afterwards heard of at Barbadoes.' Another clipping in the notebook shows that they were picked up and taken to the island. Captain Lawrence adds that he has not been able to ascertain from *Peacock's* officers the exact number killed.

Lawrence: Capt. Peake and four men were found dead on board. The Master [Edward Lott], one Midshipman [Henry Stone], Carpenter [George Marr] and Captain's Clerk and twenty nine seamen were wounded; most of them very severely, three of whom died of their wounds after being removed, and nine drowned.

Keene: Capt. Peake, Richd. Physk, Petr. Sollay & Jas. Cotton were the only persons found dead on Board. Four died of their wounds i.e. Edwd. Brady, Geo. Adams, Thos. Harris & Pet. Hunter, on board the *Hornet*.

Captain Lawrence reports his own loss as trifling in comparison: one man (John Place) killed, two slightly wounded, two severely burned by the explosion of a cartridge, one of whom, Lewis Todd, survived only a few days. Keene's note reports a strange rumor of an unlikely event which, if true, would have made the score more even:

Keene: Some of the *Hornet's* crew solemnly declared that eight of their men had actually been thrown overboard (killed) before the Prisoners were fetched on board.

Another of Keene's clippings, from *The Shamrock* of 1 May 1813, reports this

same story; under a Demerara dateline of 27 February it quotes a letter from 'a gentleman of Mahaica':

They [the four who escaped in a stern boat] conjectured that the *Peacock* had from 20 to 25 killed and badly wounded. The enemy only acknowledge one of each; but they say that they do not believe that, as their fire was well kept up, and the other did not send their boat to take possession for twenty minutes after the *Peacock* had struck.

Keene: 'during this time their dead were thrown overboard, as stated by John Buckland, Cap. For. & others of the *Hornets* Crew.

Captain Lawrence reports that his rigging and sails were much cut. There was one shot through the foremast, and the bowsprit was slightly injured. The hull suffered little or no damage. Since there was another British brig of war in sight (*L'Espiegle*, which took no part in the engagement) no time was lost in getting *Hornet* ready for action again, and all essential work was done by 9 P.M. A second clipping from the *Commercial Advertiser* contains a most eulogistic letter to the editor about Lawrence's exploit, especially commending him for attacking a ship of equal force while another of superior force was in the offing. The writer speculates on the reasons (none of them creditable) why *L'Espiegle* did not come to the aid of her hard-pressed sister. Keene's note gives an explanation:

The *L'Espiegle* at this time had her Main Topmast Struck & was then repairing her rigging, which must eventually [*sic*] prevent her affording her consort any assistance.

In recapitulation, Captain Lawrence estimated *Peacock* to have been about the same tonnage as *Hornet*, broader in the beam by five inches and four feet less in length; he also reviewed her armament and crew.

Lawrence: She mounted sixteen 24 pound carronades, two long nines, 1 twelve pound carronade on her top-gallant fore-castle, as a shifting gun, and one four or six pounder and two swivels mounted aft. I find, by her quarter Bills, that her crew consisted of 134 men, four of whom were absent in a prize.

Keene: *Peacock* mounted 16 carronades 24 pdrs. & two long Sixes: the Gun on the Forecas-

tle was used only for Signals and to bring Vessels too, the small piece on the Capstan & two Swivels on the Poop, were of Brass & placed there only for Ornament [n.b., *Peacock's* reputation as a spit-and-polish ship, 'the Yacht']. The crew consisted of 127 only, 4 of whom were in a Prize, one a Child & another on board for Medl. aid.

Weight of shot from <i>Hornet's</i> Broad Side	297 lb
" " " " <i>Peacock's</i> " " "	198
	99

<i>Hornet's</i> Crew	173
<i>Peacock's</i> " "	123
	50

The matter of weight of metal was of some importance to victors and vanquished, and it could not be denied that *Hornet* had had 32-pounders against 24's. Another clipping in an unidentified paper, quoting from the *National Intelligencer*, says that a Barbadoes gentleman has recently informed the editor that *Peacock* mounted 18 32-pounders, not 24's as formerly believed, thus making *Hornet's* victory still more remarkable. The authority for this statement is said to be the Captain of H. M. S. *Opossum*. Keene's note:

The Captain of the *Opossum* was right in his Statement, but he certainly cd. not be aware of her [*Peacock's*] Guns being exchanged for 24s at her last refit at Sheerness.

The same clipping mentions the death of gallant Captain Peake, 'when he received a 24 pounder in his breast, and fell with a smile on his countenance.' Keene's note: 'a 32 Pound shot.'

The first clipping is followed by an item from *Harmer's New York Register* of 19 May 1813, which tells of one of *Peacock's* boys who lost a leg in the battle but refused, when asked by members of the Society of Friends, to leave the service and receive an education at their expense. He said: 'When I have lost my other leg I will think of it:—The Americans are true to their government, so am I to mine.' Keene gladly attests this story:

This lad (Saml. Johnson) declared this fact openly to the Officers & Crew some time before it was published in the Papers, and leaves no doubt of its being a fact.

This anecdote of the brave boy is followed by an unidentified clipping giving a chantey in three stanzas entitled 'Yankee Sailors.' These are the opening verses:

Yankee sailors have a knack
Haul away! yeo ho, boys;
Of pulling down a British Jack
'Gainst any odds you know boys.

Keene: A great variety of these Songs were daily introduced in public assemblies and about the Streets of New York.

Keene's notes on the treatment received by the prisoners in New York are numerous. The men were apparently quickly exchanged, since the final section of the notebook is a list of the crew of *Columbia*, 29 May 1813, Lieutenant John K. Kinsman commanding and Joshua Keene again listed as Purser's Steward. This vessel was apparently H. M. 18-gun sloop *Columbia*, which is recorded in the British Navy List for 1817. In the interval of imprisonment a number of *Peacock's* company had evidently found the United States to their liking: in the list of *Peacock's* complement, in the space reserved for the next ship or disposition of each man, no less than sixteen are marked as 'deserted at New York.'

One of the clippings in the book is the letter of thanks to Captain Lawrence, signed by five of *Peacock's* officers, for his kind treatment of his late adversaries during their time on board *Hornet*. This letter, with its phrase 'we ceased to consider ourselves prisoners,' has often been quoted, and the fact that Keene makes no comment on it indicates his agreement.

As to the treatment of the prisoners in New York, Joshua Keene's notes begin with 'A List of Clothing, given the Crew of the late *Peacock*, by the Albion Society of New York, thro' the Benevolent exertions of Mr. Baker of Wall Street, & Lieutt. Downes, an officer who served in the guard over the Crew while Prisoners of War in Fort Garnsevoort & Baily's Bar[rac]k.' There follows a list of names, with items checked after each,

showing that the British seamen received 17 blue jackets, 26 pairs of duck trousers and 38 pairs of shoes, 'the whole (Valued at the rate of British Slops) amounting to £28/1/6.'

The remainder of Keene's notes are as follows:

Mr. Baries (Quaker) an Eminent Brewer in New York, delivered to me while at Bailys Barracks, 2 Barrels of Porter weekly to be served among the Crew; the Whole amounting to 6 Barrels at 8 Dollars pr Barrel (£12/0/0).

A Gentleman (a foremast Jack in the last War) who keeps the largest Salt Petre Works in the United States & Still a Friend to the Mother Country, gave me at Sundry times 24 Dollars to be divided among the Crew (£6/0/0) & at Sundry visits he drew from the store (which I kept for the Quarter Master Serjeant in the Prison) Beer, Cyder, Liquors & Necessaries to the amount of 20 Dollars (£5/0/0). This Gentlemans name I could not learn. Another Gentleman & friend of Mr. Unwins gave me 10 Dollars to be shared as above.

Mr. David Bliss, Bookseller in Greenwich Street, a member of the Albion Society, & a bitter enemy to the War with Britain, called (at some Hazard) to see the Prisoners, when I recognized him to be an old School Mate of mine at Oxford & whom I had not seen for 26 years past, he expended that day among the crew 15 Dollars (£3/15/0) & was taken from among us by the Guard, and was never after allowed to appear among us.¹

The Grand Lodge of New York presented myself & Brother Jno. Cowan, with 1 Blue Jacket, 1 Blue Trowsers, 2 Shirts, 1 Pr. of Shoes, 1 Handkerchief, 2 lbs of Tea, 6 pound of Sugar & 6 Dollars in Cash to each of us—with a Invitation to attend any of the Brethrens Lodges in New York. —The Committee frequently visited us, to enquire into our wants.

Elias Ricks, [word illegible] Grand Master of Holland Lodge No. 8 Held at the City Hotel—procured liberty from Peter Curtenius, District Marshall, for me & Brother Cowan to attend that Lodge as often as they met, I attended one night & was received with the greatest degree of Friendship & Brotherly Love, Mr. Aberdeen, Gunner of the late *Peacock* was likewise there. After the transactions of the evening were over the table was covered with the best the City of

New York could afford, the glass & the Song went merrily round & we separated like as Brothers should, with heartfelt satisfaction at the enjoyment we had received. The Society presented each of us with a Bible as a token of respect & as a sure guide for our conduct towards each other. Lodgings were provided for us at a respectable Hotel & all expences paid—

I was permitted by a Certificate from Mr Curtenius, Distt Marshal to keep Mr. Dyer's Store, for which I received 5 Dollars pr month & my Victualling, I also issued out the Rations to my fellow prisoners & to the Guard who had charge over us, & the Visitors to the Prison expended in that Store (independent of any thing I have before mentioned) to refresh the Crew, according to my receipt which was 364 Dollars (£91/0/0), & agreeable to what information I could receive from three Stores, i.e. Mr. Dyer, Mr. Knapp & Mr. Steevens (while at Fort Garnsvooort) there was not less than 1600 Dollars expended by the Public on the Prisoners—with a view most probly, by some to entice them to desert, by others out of Curiosity & by many out of Love to the Mother Country.

Many Ladies & Gentlemen of Property in the neighbourhood sent daily, bags of vegetables, the United States not allowing any. Our daily allowance ran thus:

	lbs	oz
Prime Mess Pork	0	12
Salt Beef	0	14
Bread with either of the above	1	2
When Mess Pork was issued	0	10
& the Propn. of Bread with it	1	0
¼ of a Pint of Whisky		
½ oz. of Soap		
1/10 Candle (8 to the lb) to every Rations		

Two days in the week fresh Beef was issued in the same proportion as Salt [beef]

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge delivered to me twelve Bibles & a quantity of Religious Tracts to distribute among the Crew.

The Celebrated Jno. Edwards, Patent Scale Beam Maker to the United States (formerly of Birmingham in England), frequently visited us & would often address the Crew in the Prison Yard & in the separte rooms, urging the necessity of a Religious life & the discontinuance of every thing in the shape of War. He delivered a vast number of his Pamphlet entitled 'Blood for Blood' among us: always urging Sobriety & never left us without giving a small refreshment of Beer—The Morning we embarked on board the *Cartel*, he sent me a flich of Bear Bacon to divide among the Crew.

A number of Private individuals (among whom were English, Scotch, Welsh & Irish) frequently paid us visits & heaped presents of Food & other necessities as proved serviceable to those who came from or could [give] any account of

¹ This probably means that Keene and Bliss were in grammar school together. Keene is not listed in Joseph Foster's *Alumni Oxoniensis*, but David Bliss is entered as "Stationarius et Librorum Glutinator;" privilegiatus 10 Jan., 1799. This was a special status without being a candidate for a degree.

their native places, & all expressed a wish to return to their native homes, not finding the encouragement held out to them before their emigration.

It would be a great degree of ingratitude, not to acknowledge the marks of friendship shewn by the principle part of the inhabitants of New York & its suburbs: & we must regret that there were a few among us who disgraced the name of a Briton.

Josh. Keene

HARDIN CRAIG, JR.

JAPANESE ANCHORS

THE Japanese word for anchor is *ikari*, and this term is generally applied to old-fashioned stocked types, and to native patterns, while the English word *anchor* is commonly used for patent stockless models. In combinations, the character for *ikari* may be read *byo*.

The terms given in Japanese dictionaries for the parts of an anchor do not appear to be in general use among boatmen. The reason for this is that the books give *byokan* as the equivalent for

shank, for stock, and for ring, using in each case a different Chinese character for *kan* ('stalk,' 'pipe,' and 'ring,' respectively). *Kan* also means a unit of weight, eight pounds and four ounces. The ordinary waterman does not know the Chinese characters, and hence uses unambiguous words, mostly anthropomorphic. His term for fluke, for example, is *tsume* ('finger nail').

The type of anchor most commonly seen in small fishing craft is a four-fluked wrought iron grapnel. The name for this seems to be *yotsume ikari*. *Yotsu* is 'four,' and *yotsu-me* literally is 'four-eyed,' but the word is more likely a contraction of *yotsu-tsume*.

Figure 1 shows a pattern of anchor widely used in small coasting vessels. It is also of wrought iron, except for the stock, which is a wooden pole, wedged

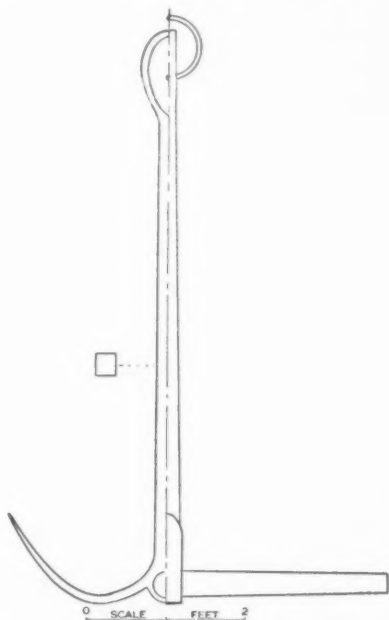


Figure 1. Wooden-stocked wrought iron anchor, measured at Mizuno Shipyard, Kure, Japan. December 1945.

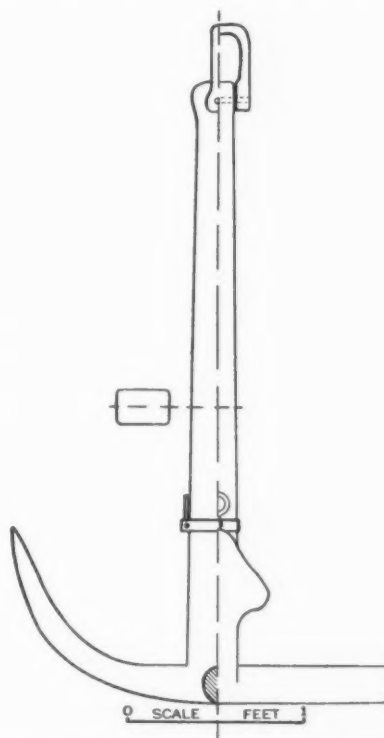


Figure 2. Cast steel anchor, measured at Mizuno Shipyard, Kure, Japan, December 1945.

into place. I was told on one occasion that this was a *chosen* or 'Chinese' anchor (the word really means 'Korean'), but another individual called it a *ju-ji ikari*. *Ji* is 'letter' and *ju* is 'ten'; the numeral ten is represented in Japanese by the Roman X turned to make a +; this, then, is a 'figure ten' anchor.

Figure 2 is a more modern version of the same principle, cast in one piece of steel and provided with a balancing band and a shackle instead of a ring. This specimen was said to weigh 60 *kan*, or 500 pounds.

JOHN LYMAN

LATER HISTORY OF LIGHT-VESSEL NO. 50

AFTER being sold out of the Lighthouse Service, *Columbia River*¹ became the Mexican steamship *San Cosme*. Lloyd's

Register lists her builders as Boole Brothers, but it is not certain if this reflects her conversion to a steamer, or if the Booles subcontracted the ship-carpentry on her hull from the Union Iron Works in 1891. At any rate, she came back under the American flag in 1920 as *Margaret*, owned by the Red Salmon Canning Company of San Francisco and fitted with Standard Oil engines driving twin screws. *Margaret* was operated for some years as a cannery tender in Alaskan waters. Then she was laid up, probably at Antioch, California, and her register was abandoned in Fiscal 1936.

JOHN LYMAN

¹ See William A. Baker, 'U. S. Light-Vessel No. 50 *Columbia River*,' THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE, IX (1949), 273-277.